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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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14 August 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WARSAW PACT MINE CLEARING VESSELS DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 28, No 5, May 85 pp 260-267

[Article by Siegfried Breyer]

[Text] In the Soviet Navy and the other Warsaw Pact naval forces the mine weapon occupies an important position, especially in those areas where natural conditions favor mine warfare, e.g., in the Baltic, where the average water depth is only 55 meters. It was therefore relatively simple in both world wars to interdict major parts and sea lanes of the Baltic to the enemy and thus to restrict his operational freedom. Thus in World War II the Germans were successful in bottling up the Soviet Baltic fleet in the Gulf of Finland by using mine barriers, after the fleet had lost its western bases and had been forced to retreat. This historic experience makes it obvious that mine defense in the Baltic is considered to be of great importance by the Soviets. The Warsaw Pact's mine defense forces are well aware of this fact.

During the postwar period the Soviet Navy had three opportunities to increase and refine its experiences in mine warfare and mine defense:

--In 1950, by mining the approaches and the harbor of Wonsan by the North Koreans, which was accomplished under the guidance of Soviet instructor personnel;

--In 1972, during the clearing of the mined waters around Chittagong after the end of the India-Pakistan war;

--In 1974, during the clearing operations of the Suez Canal, in which Soviet mine clearing forces were used.<sup>1</sup>

Since the end of World War II the Soviet Union has built four types of fleet minesweepers, five types of coastal minesweepers and five types of mine-sweepers. They have since built more than 200 fleet minesweepers, nearly 300 coastal minesweepers and more than 100 minesweepers, a total of more than 600 units. This however includes units built for export. Nevertheless, no other country has built nearly as many mine defense vessels since the end of World War II.

## Early Beginnings

The importance of mine defense was recognized early on in Czarist Russia; prior to the outbreak of World War II, vessels especially destined and constructed for mine defense were ordered; they were the first of their kind and some of them saw service well into World War II. Prior to the outbreak of World War II a few dozen mine search vessels were newly constructed, but they were too few to meet wartime requirements. It therefore became necessary to retrofit and deploy fishing vessels, trawlers, tugs and other types as auxiliary mine defense vessels. But since many more vessels were required than the Soviets could produce with maximum effort, the missing numbers had to be supplied by their allies of that time. Along with war materiel of all types, the latter also supplied those types of vessels as well. In addition, around 1942/43 a rush program for a series of shallow water mine search boats was initiated in an inland shipyard; the first units became available in the fall of 1944. They became known later as the T-301 type. Production continued after the end of the war; the last boats were delivered about the middle of the 1950's. Altogether a total of more than 200 T-301's are said to have been built. They proved to be extremely sturdy and apparently fulfilled all the requirements set for them.

## The First New Postwar Models

The first postwar development of minesweepers led to the T-43 class, started in 1947/48, which for several decades remained the standard type of the Soviet mine defense forces. Their construction was continued until the end of the 1950's; the last units were placed into service about 1960/61. Estimates appear to indicate that more than 200 were built. Some 30 of these were passed on to nine client states and allies. Construction under license took place in two countries: Poland and the People's Republic of China.

The vessels, built of steel and designed for use on the high seas, were built in two series: the first series contained vessels 58.5 meters in total length and 570 tons of displacement; the second series increased to 60 meters in overall length and 590 tons of displacement and are in addition more heavily armed. The T-43 class was possibly designed as a follow-on to the 1930's Diesel minesweepers of the FUGAS class, using wartime experience to the extent possible in those days while permitting large-scale construction. Possibly some experiences and insights were incorporated into the design which had been gathered from the use of German minesweepers captured after the end of the war--mainly the MBoat 35 and MBoat 40 types. Early on, the T-43 type proved to be a multipurpose type which would permit its use for purposes beyond those for which it was originally intended. Vessels of this type have been equipped as torpedo firing ships, hoist ships and radar early warning ships; others serve as sentry vessels of the naval border police units. The T-43 class units are equipped with mechanical sweeping gear--an extending bow boom (which in the meantime has been removed from many units because it is useless against modern mines) carried a device for protecting the bow with paravanes. A sonar device is installed also.

## The T-58 Class: The Largest Soviet Minesweeper Type

If the T-43 class was to be considered the successor of the prewar FUGAS class, it must be assumed that the T-58 class, which entered service in 1959, was based on the design of the turbine minesweeper of the VASILII GROMOV class, which started construction in 1941, at least as to its size (displacement and measurements). However, inasmuch as since about 1978 the Soviets list their T-58 units as "Storozhevoy Korabl" (sentry ships) and they no longer carry minesweeping gear, they bear no further consideration here.

## Mine Defense Vessels for Shallow Waters

During the first half of the 1950's designs were drawn for a new series for shallow water use, which was probably intended as a successor to the wartime T-301 class boats. This series--SASHA class in NATO nomenclature--amounted to more than 30 units; their delivery started in 1957. The type of construction used in this type was new in Soviet minesweeper development--it was built as a flat-deck vessel. To improve its seaworthiness, the ship's hull (which is once again made of steel) rises so steeply from the center to the bow that it has twice the elevation there than at midships. The superstructures are combined into a block and end almost abruptly with the smokestack. As a result, a large work deck, with a surface of more than 100 m<sup>2</sup>, becomes available. Here too the equipment is restricted to mechanical sweeping gear. Armament of these vessels, which have a displacement of only 280 tons maximum, is relatively heavy: while the early models had only a single 45 mm antiaircraft gun, later ones received the more effective 57 mm antiaircraft gun. Both types have two 25 mm twin antiaircraft guns in common. The SASHA's are equipped with Voith-Schneider propellers, from which one can assume that their maneuverability is satisfactory in the smallest spaces--they can likely "turn on a dime." This could also explain their Soviet nomenclature, "Reydovyy Tralshik," meaning roadstead minesweeper. They operate in small access channels, harbors and bays, also in areas where optimum maneuverability is required. Today the SASHA class vessels have shrunk to only about one-half of their original number; the vessels still serving will not likely continue to do so beyond the 1980's.

## New Designs in Minesweepers: the YURKA Class

The YURKA class, started in 1963 and first observed in 1966, is a new type of fleet minesweeper. It is significantly smaller than its predecessor fleet minesweeper, the T-58, which had turned out to be too big, even for Soviet conditions and which had therefore been given different tasks, i.e., sentry service in sensitive areas, as mentioned above. The YURKA class is different insofar as its hull is constructed of seawater-resistant lightweight metal; this was apparently a new departure in Soviet warship construction. The advantages of such a metal consist of its low specific gravity, its suitability for welding and its resistance (even in its raw, unpainted state), to the effects of humid, salt-laden sea air, not to mention its even more important characteristic: light-weight metals are non-magnetic.

The YURKA's too were built as port deckers, with a narrow deck protruding into the sweeping deck. The stack positioned at right angles to the ship's long axis is an indication that the two diesel engines of the power plant are positioned side by side.

About 50 YURKA class ships have been built. The present inventory is estimated at 45 units. This class is in use also by Egypt (4 units) and by Vietnam (1 unit).

#### The First Wooden Minesweepers

The VANYA class, started in 1961, is a series of coastal minesweepers, designated in the Soviet Navy as "Basovyy Tralshik" (BT), meaning "base minesweeper." This terminology explains its mission: mine defense in fleet bases. "Base" in this context includes such complexes as the approach sealanes leading to them, assembly areas, training grounds, etc. These vessels were the first Soviet ships to be built from wood so as to be non-magnetic and thus be able to deal with developments in the ignition systems of sea mines which have taken place since the end of World War II. It turned out that it is no longer enough to use non-magnetic construction and to avoid any sizable accumulation of metal, but that it is desirable to try for an entirely metal-free construction method.<sup>3</sup> It cannot be judged whether or not the VANYA fulfills those requirements, or at least approaches them. Considering their relatively high production number--more than 70 within 14 years--it may be assumed that they fulfilled the expectations of their design phase.

By external appearance, the VANYA is uncomplicated, sturdy and inexpensive. It is fully comparable with contemporary vessels of other navies, such as perhaps the U.S. BLUEBIRD type of the 1950's. Despite its small measurements, its sweeping deck is sufficiently large to accommodate the mechanical and acoustic sweeping devices.

At the present time there are probably about 70 VANYA's in the inventory. It can be assumed that they will remain in service for a number of years. Except for Bulgaria and Syria the VANYA class is not in use by other countries which are usual ship recipients.

#### The Smallest Soviet Mine Defense Vessels

From 1954 to 1959 the K-8 class minesweepers were built for use in roadsteads and on rivers--not in Soviet shipyards, but in Poland; probably under contract. These wooden vessels are a further development of the KM series which date from World War II. About 50 K-8's appear to have been delivered to the Soviet Navy. Apart from service with different fleets, they are in service also on big rivers, e.g., on the Ussuriy, a river forming the border with the People's Republic of China. In addition, the Polish, Cuban and Egyptian navies have vessels of this class.

Another series of minesweepers, the TR-40 class, was not as long-lived as the K-8 class. About 50 of them were built for the Soviet Navy, also in Poland;

another seven for Poland itself and eight for Romania. Only those under the Romanian flag are still in service. They too were made of wood, but at 49.2 tons they had twice the displacement of the K-8's, and their measurements exceeded those of the K-8 by about one-third. Some of them were used as sentry boats.

#### New Fleet Minesweepers

About 1969 the Soviet Union started construction of a new series of fleet minesweepers which were first seen in the Baltic in April 1971 and given the NATO code name NATYA. Somewhat similar in appearance to its predecessor YURKA, it appears to be its follow-on development insofar as seawater-resistant light metal construction was used for its hull also. It is significantly larger in its displacement and measurements; it is not only capable of somewhat greater speed but also carries heavier armament, both antiaircraft and antisubmarine. It might therefore represent a type of "escort minesweeper," as used in World War II. A new feature of the NATYA is the stern crane; it probably became necessary due to the heavier and more unwieldy towing gear. While the first units were equipped with conventional electrically operated cranes, the later models have the more modern hydraulically operated ones.

More than 40 NATYA's have been constructed, which indicates an annual construction rate of three. At the present time, 36 units are thought to be operating in all fleet districts. Another 10 are with the fleets of some client states (India and Libya).

Inasmuch as a variant model of the NATYA class has been seen, NATO has subdivided it into NATYA-I and NATYA-II classes; more will be said about the latter later on.

#### The First Fiberglass Mine Defense Vessels

The YEVGENYA class, built since 1969/70, represents a new type of mine defense vehicle for the inshore waters. Its NATO designation is MHI (Mine Hunter, Inshore); the Soviet nomenclature is RT (Reydovyy Tralshchik, Roadstead Minesweeper). These vessels are intended, as stated above, for operation in areas adjoining the coastlines; the depth limit of their operating capability is said to be around 30 meters.<sup>4</sup> Among their crews is a 3-man team of mine divers; its equipment includes an underwater search device with remote-controlled TV camera and illumination.

The YEVGENYA class was probably built as a successor to the K-8 discussed above. Present inventories are thought to total about 40 units. Some units of this class have been turned over to allies and client states also.

#### New Coastal Minesweepers

Units of the ZHENYA class, built toward the end of the 1960's, serve as experimental vessels for new types of hull construction and equipment; their number has remained limited--not more than three have been built. Its outstanding feature is its fiberglass-reinforced plastic hull.

The SONYA class minehunter, developed in the 1970's, is not, as it might appear to be, a replacement for the ZHENYA class, but rather for the VANYA; more than 40 units are currently in service. Its NATO designation is MHSO (Mine Hunter/Sweeper, Ocean); Soviet nomenclature is BT (Basovyy Tralshchik or Base Minehunter). Architecturally, the SONYA is quite similar to the ZHENYA class, but differs from it in its manner of hull construction. The SONYA class is known to have a wooden hull with fiberglass reinforcement. Apart from the USSR, the SONYA class is found also in Cuba, which received two units in 1980.

#### Minesweeping Drones and Their Control Vessels

Construction of drone vessels for mine defense operations started in the late 1960's; they subsequently became known as the ILYUSHA class. Their NATO designator is MSI (Mine Sweeper, Inshore).<sup>5</sup> Ten or 11 were built; delivery started in 1970. During the approach to the operational area and upon leaving it a crew of approximately 10 occupies each drone. When mine clearing operations are impending, the men leave the drone and transfer to the control vessel. The movements of the drone are directed from there by radio remote control. This fact explains the presence of a quadruple lattice mast, which appears rather large in relation to the size of the vessel. It supports the necessary antennas, which appear to have several backups for security.

The VANYA class units serving as control vessels for the ILYUSHA's (there appear to be only three) were modified for the purpose about 1973/74 and have the NATO code designation VANYA-MOD class. Their bridge has been slightly changed. Their 30 mm twin antiaircraft guns were replaced with 25 mm anti-aircraft guns. Their DON-2 radar was replaced with a DON-KAY radar and their minesweeping equipment was removed. Among their remarkable external features are a second lattice mast and two work boats hoisted by patent davits on the afterdeck, used to transfer the ILYUSHA crews on and off board.

#### New Minesweepers

About 1973 the construction of a smaller series of minesweepers was initiated; the first units appeared in the Baltic in the spring of 1975. Called OLYA class by NATO and designated MSB (Mine Sweeper Boat), they are vessels for operations in close proximity to the coastline. To fulfill their mission, they are equipped with mechanical sweeping gear. The belief has been expressed that they operate under remote control. There is no explanation why so few have been built; only four or five are in existence. Perhaps the intention is to give them long-term testing so as to develop a type which in case of sudden need could be quickly and economically produced in large numbers. The OLYA probably also has a plastic, fiberglass reinforced hull. It shows a steady upward line from its square stern and is therefore twice as high at the bow as at the stern. Perhaps this design was chosen to provide sleeping or off-duty space for the crew. The side windows on both sides of the forecastle would make this a logical explanation. These small vessels are armed also; they have one 25 mm twin antiaircraft gun. The fact



of this armament would hardly bear out the opinion that these vessels operate under remote guidance.

#### The ANDRYUSHA Class: For Special Sweeping Procedures

A series of specialized mine defense vessels, limited to three units and referred to by NATO as ANDRYUSHA class, began to be built around 1973. In size they are similar to SONYA; like the latter, they also have a non-magnetic hull, probably made of wood and/or fiberglass. They do not have conventional sweeping gear; however, it is not known at present what they do carry. The opinion originally advanced by Western experts that they operate by using a sweeping cable procedure has been discredited for some time. Cables nevertheless seem to be involved; they appear to be located in cable trunks--one of each side of the ship--which are characteristic for this class. The cables which are thought to be contained in them apparently start in a space located near the forecastle, probably in a sort of cable chamber, from which they can be unreeled and retrieved after use. The vessels are propelled by diesel engines, with exhaust gases being expelled from openings on both sides of the ship. The stack apparently has some connection with a gas turbine generator installed on board which produces the required electrical power. It can therefore be assumed that cables and electric power play a significant part in mission accomplishment. They have no armament, though one appears to be available in case of mobilization. A base plate installed in front of the bridge superstructure would support that estimate. It could serve as a base for a 30 mm or 25 mm barrel weapon system.

In the opinion of U.S. technical journals, the electric power generated by the gas turbine generator could serve to produce a magnetic field or another type of defensive system against mines with magnetic ignition systems. It is known that in the Soviet Navy experiments with mine locating procedures on electromagnetic principles have been conducted for several years. Perhaps the ANDRYUSHA class has been designed for that type of procedure, especially in deep-water areas.<sup>6</sup>

#### NATYA-II Class: Minehunter or Test Platform?

A modified NATYA fleet minesweeper was seen for the first time in December 1980. It passed through the Channel on a westerly course. It was recognized to be a minehunter version of the NATYA class. NATO reacted to this state of affairs by designating the original NATYA version as NATYA-I class and the minehunter version as NATYA-II.

While the newly recognized vessel maintained most of the features of the original design, significant differences could be noted. They start with the armament: missing from the NATYA-II were the otherwise diagonally mounted 25 mm twin antiaircraft guns and the submarine hunter rocket launchers on both sides of the bridge superstructure; however, the two 30 mm twin antiaircraft guns in the end positions were maintained. However, on two platforms located at the rear edge of the bridge superstructure, each ship of the NATYA-II class carries one quadruple launch device for the SA-N-5<sup>7</sup>

ship-to-air missile for close range defense. The narrow deck starting at the stern recess and extended toward the rear could probably support the mine-hunting device. However, up to now the nature of this device remains unknown. The fact that the stern hoist has been eliminated but the hydraulic cranes have been retained indicates that the device is similar to the French PAP-104 underwater drone (PAP: poisson autopropulse) and that it is lowered and hoisted by crane.

The NATYA-II class currently appears to be the most modern mine defense vessel of the Soviet Navy. However, at present only one unit appears to be in existence, which raises the question of whether this is a prototype of a class yet to be placed in series production or whether it is a test platform.

#### Auxiliary Mine Defense Vessels for Mobilization Use?

The role of the BALTICA class, of which only one is in existence also, a fishing trawler of the same type built as a stern catcher, is not yet clear. Originally it was thought to be an auxiliary mine defense vessel, but lately there are doubts about that. It is however conceivable that in this case a trawler type is undergoing long-range testing for use as an auxiliary mine defense vehicle, to accumulate experience and in case of mobilization to be able to initiate a crash program for adapting fishing trawlers for use as mine defense vessels. Based on their construction type as stern catchers--there is a stern hoist--trawlers like those of the BALTICA class are apparently usable for mine defense missions. Inexpensively and simply constructed, they would appear to be suitable for relatively quick availability as "expendable materiel."<sup>8</sup>

#### Mine Defense Vessels of the Polish Navy

The Polish Navy currently has 24 fleet minesweepers, 2 coastal and 23 shallow water mine defense vessels. Domestic Polish development was responsible for creating the 12 fleet minesweepers of the KROGULEC class, built during the early 1960's. All of them were built at the navy shipyards in Gdynia (which is why their original NATO designator was GDYNIA class) and are similar in design to the Soviet T-43 class, at least as far as displacement and overall measurements are concerned. However, the KROGULEC has a different power plant, consisting of two Italian Fiat diesel engines, whose capacity (2750 kW) is significantly greater than that of the T-43. The use of this higher performance power plant must of necessity account for heavier weight of the power plant; however, if the vessel's greater speed compared with that of the T-43 amounts to 4 knots, as is widely assumed, this tradeoff appears appropriate and justifiable. The KROGULEC is built with a flush deck and has articulated ribs in its forecastle. It is equipped with mechanical sweeping gear. Its armament consists of three 25 mm twin antiaircraft guns.

Preceding the construction of the KROGULEC class in Gdynia was the construction under license of eight units of the T-43 class, of which the Soviets had previously delivered four sample ships. One of those currently operates as a radar early warning vessel.<sup>9</sup>

Polish domestic development resulted in the NOTEC class, two units to date, a new type of coastal minesweepers, the first of which was launched in April 1981 and placed in service in February 1982. It was followed by a second unit in 1983. No additional units have been observed to date. These units, with a displacement of only 250 tons, have a fiberglass-reinforced plastic hull. Their equipment probably consists of mechanical and acoustic sweeping gear.

Another mine defense vessel is currently under domestic Polish development, but no details are available on it to date.

#### The Mine Defense Vessels of the GDR People's Navy

Since the early days of the establishment of the GDR naval forces, the procurement of mine defense vessels has been emphasized. As early as the 1950's, fleet minesweepers and minesweepers of other types were built--among them the HABICHT-I, HABICHT-II and KRAKE, as well as the SCHWALBE class. These vessels, built in domestic shipyards, apparently subject to the many restrictions and deficiencies of the postwar years, became obsolete rather quickly and have since been retired. They have been replaced by second-generation mine defense vessels, designated by the National People's Navy [GDR] as MSR (mine search and sweeping vessels) regardless of the fact that those of the first series are intended for coastal operations, whereas the second series is to serve as fleet minesweepers.<sup>10</sup> In external appearance, the two series resemble each other closely. Construction of the KONDOR-I class, intended for the coastal areas, started in 1968, delivery started 1 year later and ended in 1971. All units were built in Wolgast; there were 20 of them (some additional ones built for special purposes will not be dealt with in this article). The KONDOR-I class vehicles are equipped with mechanical, acoustic and remote controlled sweeping gear and with a mine sonar. Most of them however have for several years been serving with the "Coast Border Brigade" and are therefore designated as "border ships."<sup>11</sup>

Construction of the somewhat larger KONDOR-II class, destined for fleet use, started in 1972, also in Wolgast. Its sweeping equipment remained the same. Since the early 1980's they have apparently been used for experiments with modern minesweeping systems. On several of them a new deck superstructure could be seen on the working deck; on some the hydraulic cranes were kept, while being replaced on others with a swiveling cross beam on the stern. All ships appear to be suitable for testing the new GDR-developed "1-Ss/E" remote controlled sweeping gear.

Compared with the KONDOR-I, the KONDOR-II has three times its armament--three 25 mm twin antiaircraft guns.

#### Mine Defense Vessels as Potential Minelayers

Most of the mine defense vessels of the Warsaw Pact navies are capable of taking on mines as on-deck cargo and to deploy them as barriers. For this purpose they are equipped with shifting tracks on the side decks and launch ramps on the stern. Even though the number of mines to be transported by

them may be small--essentially, it depends on the measurements of the mines concerned--this is compensated for by the large number of available mine defense vessels. Because the latter are capable of attaining only moderate speeds, they can primarily be considered only for minelaying for the protection of domestic coastal areas and approaches (defensive barriers). The laying of offensive mine barriers on the other hand is the mission of the fast surface ships, but also of submarines and, last but not least, the naval aviation.

#### Numbers of Warsaw Pact Mine Defense Forces in the Baltic

The Soviet Navy constitutes the major part of the Warsaw Pact's Baltic potential of mine defense vessels. According to the "Strength of Soviet Naval and Naval Aviation Forces Survey"<sup>12</sup> which is published annually in January, the estimate for January 1984 was a total of 140 Soviet fleet minesweepers, 153 coastal minesweepers and 90 minehunters. Of these, 40 fleet minesweepers, 62 coastal minesweepers and 41 minehunters belonged to the Baltic Fleet, a total of 143 units, i.e., about one-third of the total inventory. Added to this were 48 units of the Polish Navy and another 47 of the National People's Navy. This adds up to a grand total of 238 units, for peacetime conditions an extremely large number within a single ship category, which is considerably smaller in all other navies.<sup>13</sup> This indicates clearly that in this weapon system sector too the USSR is making an effort at clear superiority over NATO.

[Diagrams, tables on following pages.]

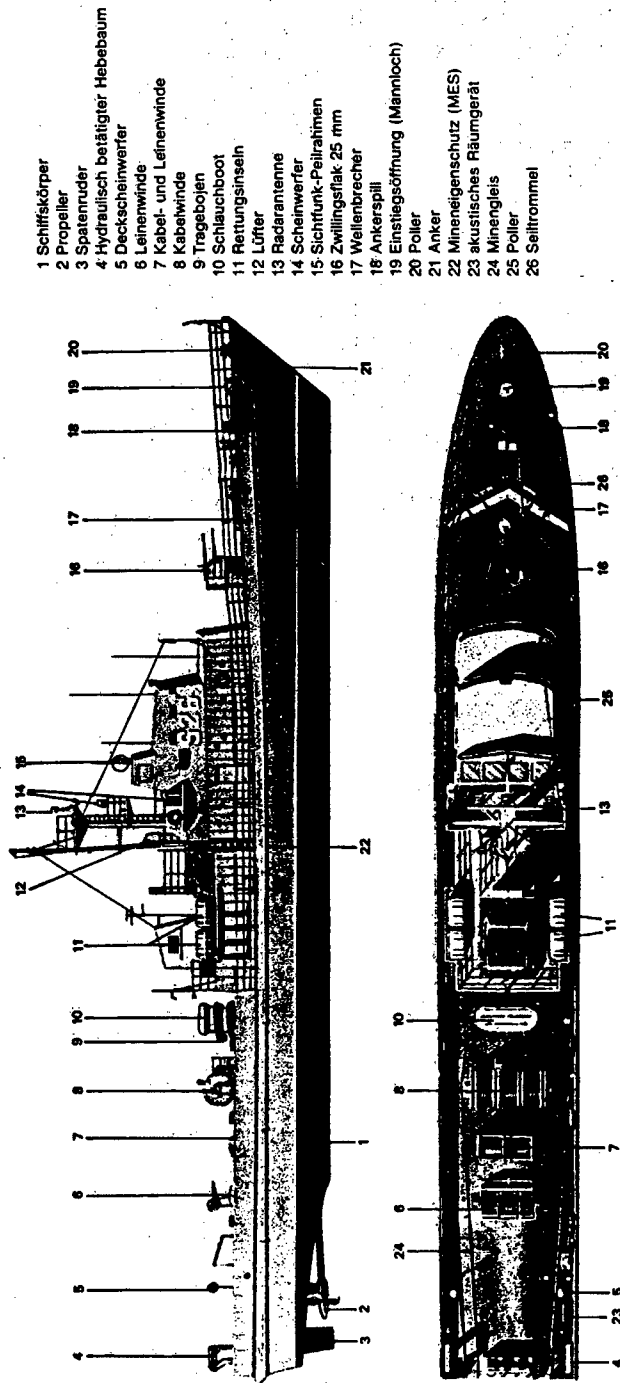


Figure 1. Layout of the National People's Navy [GDR] KONDOR-I Type Minesweeper (National People's Navy illustration)

Key:

1. Ship's hull
2. Propeller
3. Spate rudder
4. Hydraulically operated hoist
5. Deck searchlight
6. Line winch
7. Cable and line winch
8. Cable winch
9. Life buoys
10. Inflatable boat
11. Safety island
12. Ventilator
13. Radar antenna
14. Searchlight
15. TV closed loop antenna
16. 25 mm twin antiaircraft gun
17. Wave shield
18. Anchor capstan
19. Manhole entry
20. Bollard
21. Anchor
22. Mine self defense (MES)
23. Acoustic sweeping gear
24. Mine track
25. Bollard
26. Rope drum

- 1 Schiffskörper
- 2 Propeller
- 3 Spatenruder
- 4 Hydraulisch betriebiger Hebebaum
- 5 Deckscheinwerfer
- 6 Leinenwinde
- 7 Kabel- und Leinenwinde
- 8 Kabelwinde
- 9 Tragebojen
- 10 Schlauchboot
- 11 Rettungsinself
- 12 Lüfter
- 13 Radarantenne
- 14 Scheinwerfer
- 15 Sichtfunk-Perlatrinen
- 16 Zwillingsflak 25 mm
- 17 Wellenbrecher
- 18 Ankerspül
- 19 Einstiegsöffnung (Mannloch)
- 20 Poller
- 21 Anker
- 22 Mineneigenschutz (MES)
- 23 akustisches Räumgerät
- 24 Minengleis
- 25 Poller
- 26 Seiltrommel

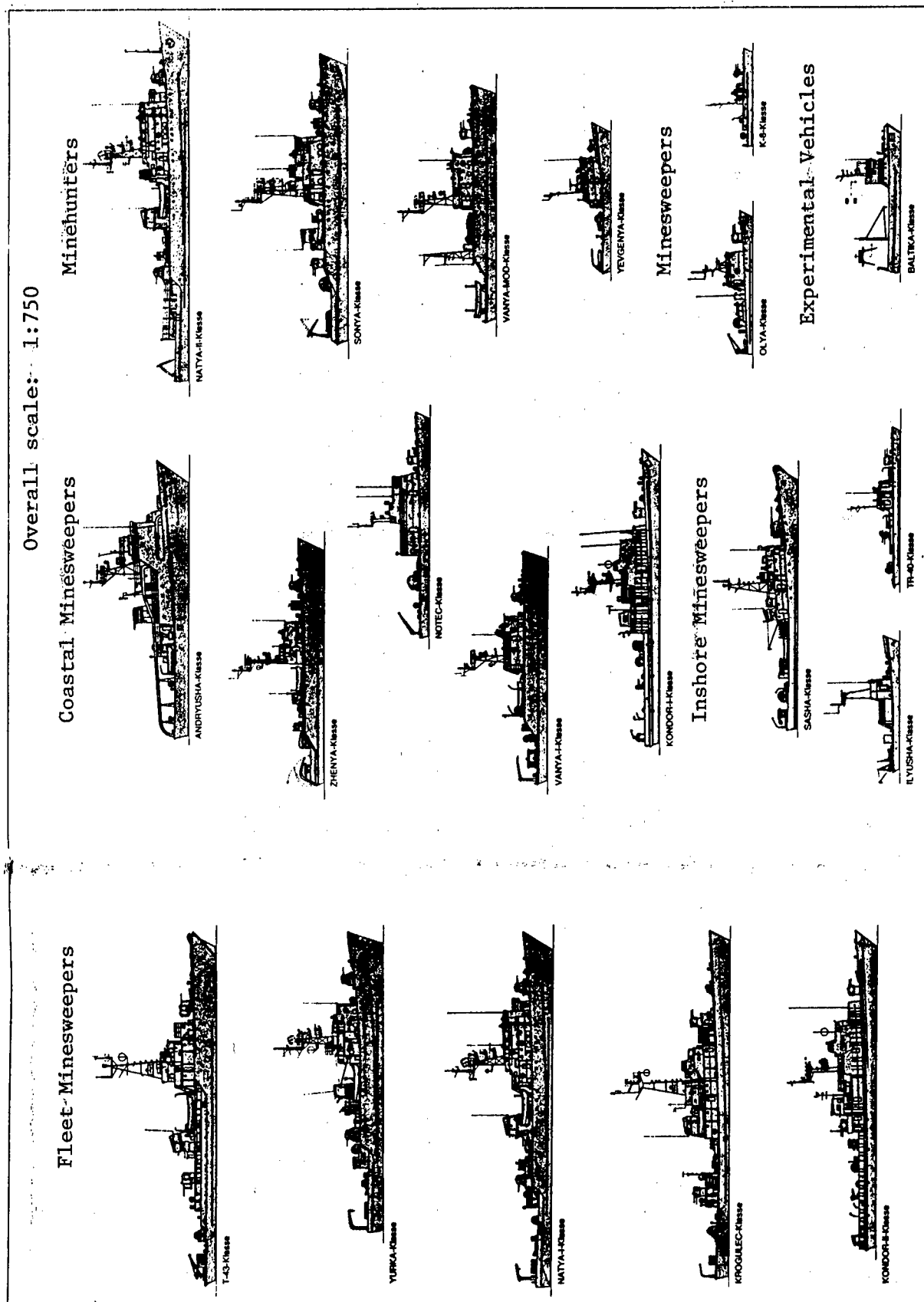


Figure 2. Identifying Characteristics of Warsaw Pact Navy Minesweepers

Table 1. Fleet Minesweepers of the Warsaw Pact Navies

	T-43 <sup>1)</sup>	YURKA <sup>2)</sup>	NATYA-I <sup>3)</sup> ...)	KROGULEC	KONDOR-II
1 Anzahl	30	45	36	12	27
2 Verdrängung	500/590	400/460	650/750	450/484	260/310
3 Länge über alles	60.0	52.0	61.0	60.0	55.0
4 Breite max.	8.6	9.3	9.8	7.6	7.0
5 Tiefgang max.	3.5	2.0	3.0	2.3	2.4
6 Antrieb	2 DM 19	19 2 DM	19 2 DM	19 2 DM	19 2 DM
7 Antriebsleistung	1618	2943	3680	2750	2943
8 Geschwindigkeit	14.0	16.0	18.0	18.0	23.0
9 Wellenzahl	2	2	2	2	2
10 Fahrstrecke	3200/10	3200/10	5200/10	3200/12	?
11 Besatzungsstärke	65	45-50	60	30	40
12 Rohrweiten	4 x 37 mm 4 x 25 mm	4 x 30 mm	4 x 25 mm	6 x 25 mm	6 x 25 mm
13 Jagdwaffen	20 Wasserbomben	22 keine	2 RBU-1200	20 Wasserbomben	22 keine
14 Minen	21 ja	21 ja	21 ja	21 ja	21 ja

15 <sup>1)</sup> Ältere Ausführung: 570 ts Verdrängung, Länge über alles nur 58.5 m.

16 <sup>2)</sup> NATYA-II-Klasse (Minenjagdversion): Keine 25-mm-Flak und keine RBU-1200, dafür jedoch 2 x 4 SA-N-5 (16 FK).

17 <sup>3)</sup> Vereinzelt 2 x 4 SA-N-5 (16 FK) wie NATYA-II-Klasse.

Key:

1. Number
2. Displacement
3. Overall length
4. Maximum width
5. Maximum draft
6. Propulsion
7. Propulsion power
8. Speed
9. Number of shafts
10. Range
11. Crew
12. Tube weapons
13. Antisubmarine weapons
14. Mines
15. Older models: 570 ton displacement, overall length only 58.5 meters
16. NATYA-II class (minehunter version): no 25 mm antiaircraft gun and no RBU-1200; instead: 2x4 SA-N-5 (16 missiles)
17. Occasional 2x4 SA-N-5 (16 missiles) like NATYA-II
18. Nautical miles/knots
19. Two diesel engines
20. Depth charges
21. Yes
22. None

Table 2. Coastal Minesweepers of the Warsaw Pact Navies

	SASHA	VANYA <sup>*)</sup>	ZHENYA	SONYA	NOTEC	KONDOR-I
1 Anzahl	4-8	70	3	40-45	2(+)	20
2 Verdrängung	250/280	200/250	220/290	380/450	-/250	225/275
3 Länge über alles	45.1	40.2	42.4	48.8	38.5	52.0
4 Breite max.	6.2	7.9	7.9	8.8	8.3	7.0
5 Tiefgang max.	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.1	1.9	2.4
6 Antrieb	17 2DM	17 2DM	17 2DM	17 2DM	17 2DM	17 2DM
7 Antriebsleistung	1618	1618	1766	1766	?	2943
8 Geschwindigkeit	19.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	12.0	21.0
9 Wellenzahl	2	2	2	2	2	2
10 Fahrstrecke	2100/12	2400/10	2400/10	3000/0	?	?
11 Besatzungsstärke	1 x 45 od. 57 mm	1 x 2 30 mm	1 x 2 30 mm	1 x 2 30 mm	1 x 2 25 mm	1 x 2 25 mm
12 Rohwaffen	2 x 2 25 mm	18 keine	18 keine	18 keine	18 keine	18 keine
13 Ujagd Waffen	18 keine	18 keine	18 keine	18 keine	18 keine	18 keine
14 Minen	19 ja	19 ja	?	?	?	ja

\*) VANYA-MOD keine 30-mm-Flak, sondern 1 x 2 25 mm.

Key:

1. Number
2. Displacement
3. Overall length
4. Maximum width
5. Maximum draft
6. Propulsion
7. Propulsion power
8. Speed
9. Number of shafts
10. Range
11. Crew
12. Tube weapons
13. Antisubmarine weapons
14. Mines
15. VANYA-MOD has no 30 mm antiaircraft gun; instead, one twin 25 mm
16. Nautical miles/knots
17. Two diesel engines
18. None
19. Yes



Table 3. Shallow-Water and Special Purpose Mine-Defense Vessels of the Warsaw Pact Navies

	YEVGENYA	ILYUSHA	OLYA	ANDRYUSHA	K-8
1 Anzahl	40	10	5	3	25-30
2 Verdrängung	80/90	80/85	44/50	320/360	19.4/26
3 Länge über alles	26.2	26.2	24.6	47.8	16.9
4 Breite max.	6.1	5.8	4.2	8.5	2.2
5 Tiefgang max.	1.5	1.5	1.0	3.0	0.8
6 Antrieb	2DM 14	1DM 15	2DM 14	2DM 14	2DM 14
7 Antriebsleistung	441	331	441	1618	220
8 Geschwindigkeit	11.0	12.0	18.0	15.0	12.0
9 Wellenzahl	2	1	2	2	2
10 Fahrstrecke	300/10	?	500/10	?	300/9
11 Besatzungsstärke	10	10	15	40	6
12 Rohrweiten	2 x 14.5 mm	keine	1 x 2.25 mm	keine	1 x 2 14.5 mm

17 Angaben auf den Zehnteltafeln 1 bis 3 nach DDB-1210-13-82 / DIA „Soviet Navy Surface Ship Identification Guide“, September 1982, und nach „Combat Fleets of the World 1984/85“, Annapolis 1984.

Key:

1. Number
2. Displacement
3. Overall length
4. Maximum width
5. Maximum draft
6. Propulsion
7. Propulsion power
8. Speed
9. Number of shafts
10. Range
11. Crew
12. Tube weapons
13. Nautical miles/knots
14. Two diesel engines
15. One diesel engine
16. None
17. Data in Tables 1 through 3 taken from DDB-1210-13-82/DIA, "Soviet Navy Surface Ship Identification Guide," September 1982, and from "Combat Fleets of the World 1984/85," Annapolis 1984.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Added to this most recently was the deployment of Soviet mine defense forces in the Red Sea because of damage to commercial shipping by unidentified explosive devices.
3. Even though aluminum is nonmagnetic, its use is not sufficient to attain this capability, because its relatively good conductivity easily produces undesirable effects caused by induction fields (see Wilhelm Hadelar: Naval Ship Construction, Vol A, p 241).
4. Combat Fleets of the World 1984, p 760.
5. More recently also designated as MSD (Mine Sweeper Drone).
6. Wile, Their Mine Warfare Capability (in: Proceedings, October 1982, p 145 et seq).
7. For details of this weapon system, see SOLDAT UND TECHNIK No 9/84, p 500 et seq. To be noted additionally is the fact that some of the NATYA-I and YURKA classes are equipped with SA-N-5 units.
8. Concerning the BALTICA, see also the article "Little Known Ships of the Warsaw Pact Navies" (SOLDAT UND TECHNIK No 6/84, p 316).
9. Ibid.
10. Military Technology Series: Mine Sweeping and Clearing Vessels, p 31.
11. See brief reportage in SOLDAT UND TECHNIK, "Coastal Border Brigade of the GDR Border Police" in SOLDAT UND TECHNIK No 6/84, p 315.
12. Published by the [FRG] Ministry of Defense, Press and Information Service.
13. For purposes of comparison, herewith the inventories of the other states bordering on the Baltic: FRG 57, Denmark 6, Sweden 28, Finland 6. The number of only 6 Danish mine defense vessels is admittedly rather small in view of the naval mission of the Danish Navy in case of mobilization. However, it must be remembered that the small country has six minelayers with a large total deployment capability; compared with which the adequate German share appears rather modest.

9273

CSO: 2300/440

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPSU'S ALIYEV INTERVIEWED FOR YOUTH DAILY

AU171653 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 16 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[NOVOSTI interview with Geydar Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Commission for Holding the International Youth Year in the USSR, specially for NARODNA MLADEZH: "The Party Has Faith in Youth"--no place or date given]

[Text] Question: The current year, 1985, has been proclaimed International Youth Year by the United Nations. What is the Soviet leadership's assessment of this decision?

Answer: We fully support this initiative as being exceptionally important and topical. We also approve and support the actual slogan of the International Youth Year: "Participation, Development, Peace."

We also take into account the fact that the problems of youth, being among the most current issues in our time, cannot be resolved within the framework of just one year. It is extremely necessary to focus the attention of governments in the world and of the entire world public on these problems. It is in this that we perceive the fundamental importance of the International Youth Year. On the other hand, much can be done for young people during this period. We know this well from the practice of our own state.

Question: There is not a single problem in the world today that is not linked, in one way or another, with young people. Which, in your opinion, are the problems that are considered particularly important?

Answer: I think that these very problems are reflected in the International Year's slogan. It is necessary to step up the young generation's participation in all social and state functions and increase its contribution to the solution of the social, economic, cultural, and ecological tasks facing mankind. And the most important point is to enhance young people's role in the struggle for peace, understanding, and cooperation.

Question: It is well known that such participation does not accord in all countries with the wishes and needs of young people. How does this matter stand in the USSR?

Answer: Young people and their problems are a matter of immutable concern for the communist party, the government, the public organizations, and the labor collectives. From this viewpoint, each calendar year in the Soviet Union can be described, without exaggeration, as youth year. The Soviet power gives young people all opportunities to assert themselves, particularly in the main sphere--labor. In our country this right has been firmly guaranteed by socialism and enshrined in the USSR Constitution; it is being constantly enriched and augmented with new opportunities. The choice of activity is widening for both young men and young women, better guarantees are provided for their vocational development, the level of labor organization and availability of technical equipment is rising, and finally, material and moral incentives are improving and there is greater social recognition, which is the invariable reward for any conscientious work that yields real results in our country.

Take another sphere of equally vital importance for youth: the sphere of education. The universal right to education, granted by the Great October Socialist Revolution itself, is also being constantly augmented and enriched with new opportunities and guarantees. The reform of general educational and vocational schools underway in our country is turning into a qualitatively new and higher stage in the development of the entire education system. Essentially, this reform is a broad social program for the realization of our country's younger generation, aimed at a strategic goal: to shape the comprehensively developed personality of the builder of the new society.

In actual fact, briefly speaking, how do we approach the problems connected with youth? We create the material conditions necessary for the balanced development of each young person, involve him in the solution of the most important task facing society, and educate him in a spirit of collectivism.

Youth in our country is trusted, and much is entrusted to young people. For example, no one in our country would be surprised to see a young plant director or kolkhoz chairman, shop foreman or laboratory chief, airline captain or chief specialist in a ministry. Many young people are deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Union Republic Supreme Soviets, and local Soviets.

Despite all this, we will continue to enhance the role of youth even further. Our country is now living through a period of serious changes and, as M. S. Gorbachev said: "We expect much from young people in particular, from their energy and questing mind, from their interest in everything that is new and advanced."

Question: Would you allow one more question in this connection: How do you perceive the young people's role in the changes currently under way in the country?

Answer: These changes are primarily aimed at the acceleration of our socio-economic development. The more successful we are in achieving this, the better and more meaningfully young people will live. In actual fact, it is for their sake, for their future's sake, that these changes are taking place. But these changes will not come about by themselves. What is needed are daring ideas and energetic work, what is necessary is a profound mental

reorientation particularly wherever matters effect production-economic and economic management and administration activity. And an exceptionally great role in all this has been assigned to young people. They are particularly receptive to the new, and the inertia of working in the old-fashioned way has a smaller influence on them. This is why the party has great hope in them.

Question: The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students is opening in Moscow on 27 July. How do you evaluate its significance?

Answer: It will be the central event of the International Youth Year. Young men and women from 150 countries will gather in Moscow for a serious and businesslike conversation about what they could do to strengthen peace and avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe. And there can be no doubt that, in the light of its unprecedented scope and attendance, the festival will become an important stage in the solution of these problems which affect all mankind.

Question: There are an international, a Soviet, and individual national preparatory committees for the festival. Their work is to organize and hold the youth forum. Why is it then that the commission which you head is also dealing with some aspects of preparations?

Answer: We do not interfere with the work of these committees, nor do we impose any of our decisions on them. No, we only give them assistance whenever they need it. It is hardly necessary to explain that on many issues the festival organizers simply must cooperate with many state institutions and public organizations. And our commission helps to coordinate these joint efforts. As far as I am aware, those who are preparing the youth forum are grateful to us for this.

Question: The festival really is the central event, but it is not the only major event during International Youth Year. Thus, what other important issues is your commission tackling in addition to it?

Answer: As I have already said, we in our country were in no way waiting for this special year to tackle young people's problems and needs. We have always had these matters in mind. But we must think even more about what else can be done during the Youth Year. Our commission has coordinated the practical work of ministries, departments, local organs of power, and enterprises in this direction.... For example, in the production of fashionable and cheap goods for young people, the construction of cooperative housing for young families, the establishment of technical creativity homes, youth clubs, and sports facilities, and so on. In these matters the commission sets tasks for the appropriate organizations and then monitors performance reports.

Speaking of International Youth Year, we cannot overlook the political aspect. It coincides with the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. The Great Patriotic War was a grave trial for the strength of the Soviet system, the international brotherhood of our peoples, and the courage and heroism of Soviet people. Our country's peoples withstood this trial with honor. One of the directions of our commission's work is to inculcate among young people

people a feeling of sacred love for our Soviet motherland and gratitude for the feats of the preceding generations. Feats, which ensured prolonged peace for the whole of mankind, including the planet's younger generation.

Finally, I would like to clarify something once more: The party's attention for and interest in young people neither begins nor ends with the International Youth Year. Lenin described our party as an innovative party, a party of the future. And the future, as he declared on many occasions, belongs to young people. And this says it all.

CSO: 2200/176

BULGARIA

BCP DAILY ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

AU172017 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jul 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Democratic Centralism--Driving Force of Social Development"]

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized in his introductory speech at the BCP Central Committee February plenum that a multiplicity of law-governed factors operate at the stage of the building of mature socialism, but some of them are particularly emphasized by the logic of contemporary historical development.

The first objective law-governed factor is the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution. The stipulation that, under present-day conditions, to implement the scientific and technical revolution means to build a mature socialist society and vice versa, is inseparable from such law-governed factors as the transformation of the labor collective into a true master of socialist property, and the improvement of social relations of values. Increasingly great [words omitted] important and power of influence are also acquired by the law-governed factor involving the people's growing role as makers of history. Democratic centralism, to ensure the working people's broad and actual participation in social management, and to transform their experience and lofty awareness, their ideological conviction and creative activeness into a driving force of development.

Guided by this objective social need and law-governed factor, the party has taken important steps--particularly over the last few years--for the development of intraparty, economic, direct, and representative democracy. The role of the labor collective, of grass-root links, settlement systems, financial autonomy, and counterplans is rising resolutely. There is widespread introduction of the state-social and social-state principle, competitions, and elections in the process of cadre promotion. Social structures are gradually turning into self-regulating systems. The working people are successfully mastering their new functions as the subject of management.

The principle of democratic centralism also has a broad application and importance in the spheres of science and of scientific and technical progress. Comrade Todor Zhivkov dwelled extensively on these matters in his introductory speech and his report at the February plenum. The establishment of program collectives and on a National Association of Scientific and Technical

Creativity is justifiedly perceived--together with societies, corporations, and other forms--as the correct way and important prerequisite for the further acceleration of social development.

Democratic centralism is yielding good results. The gap between personal, collective, and social interests is closing. The involvement, unity, cohesion, responsibility, and activeness of millions of working people are being intensified, and their contribution to the implementation of party policy is growing. The dynamics of these processes is one of the most vivid features indicating the degree of maturity attained by socialist society in our country. This imposes on party, social, state, and economic organs and organizations an even greater obligation to assist in the application of democratic centralism in all spheres of life as well as to wage an uncompromising struggle against any deviations from it, against everything that restricts and hinders its operation, against formalism, conservatism, and dogmatism, against subjectivism and bureaucracy, against all violations of collectivism.

Deviations and distortions do exist. Some of them were criticized at the BCP Central Committee February plenum: Quite often the additional tasks contained in counterplans are proclaimed to be state tasks, any reserves that may have been revealed are seized, there are delays in building up the new-type teams and applying financial autonomy to its full extent, many leaderships avoid concluding contracts with labor collectives claiming the existence of "objective" reasons, and even when contracts are concluded their provisions are not always observed nor is reciprocal responsibility sought. There are also frequent instances of restrictions on criticism and free exchange of opinions, regulations, and administrative guidance for the activity of party and labor collectives by higher-ranking leadership organs and leaders, and imposition of subjective views and decisions.

Plamen Chernokozhev, programmer at the Central Institute of Computer Equipment, draws attention to another frequently encountered manifestation of bureaucratic centralism: unnecessary paperwork and excessive regulations of various social activities. When developing an operational system, at times it becomes necessary to fill 10,000-15,000 pages because people are forced to take in account a multiplicity of norm-setting documents, standards, and other restricting factors, which certainly do not run to any fewer pages. The "Odyssey" of the introduction of technology for the hydroplastic processing of metals is well known. Its authors, Professors Petur Davidkov and Georgi Kostov, needed many years and much effort to overcome the obstacles of bureaucracy and conservatism and bring into existence an invention with vast national economic effect.

It is, unfortunately, possible to point out many similar instances which are alien to our social system and our morality. Socialist society will no doubt rid itself of them, just as a healthy organism rids itself of any foreign body. In this instance, however, a wait-and-see attitude is unnecessary and harmful. The obstacles, failures, and distortions as regards democratic centralism must be combatted implacably and uncompromisingly. This is because, as Lenin said, socialism is not created by decrees "from above" but is the product of the working people, of the people guided by the communist party, it is the product of their social and political creativity.



BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV ADDRESSES GRADUATION CEREMONY

AU160727 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jul 85 p 1

[Excerpts] Comrade Todor Zhivkov was welcomed very warmly and cordially at yesterday's festivities [at the BCP Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management] to mark the conclusion of instruction of students in the 1984-85 study year.

The ceremony was also attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Georgi Atanasov, and Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCO Committee.

Having thanked the lecturers for their efforts in their daily work, Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished the graduates much success in their future activity. In his speech he touched on some topical issues of socioeconomic development, stressing the exceptionally great importance of the February plenum decisions in the struggle to build a developed socialist society in our country on the basis of the achievements of the modern scientific and technical revolution. The implementation of these responsible tasks is inseparably linked with the training of highly qualified cadres. In this connection he emphasized the special role played by the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, which will have to improve still further in the future not only as an educational establishment but also as a comprehensive scientific center.

The address by the top party and state leader was listened to with great attention and was accompanied by prolonged applause.

CSO: 2200/176

14 August 1985

## BULGARIA

## LEADERS' APPEARANCES 14-20 JULY

AU202008 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 14 through 20 July notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts given in parentheses):

Georgi Yordanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee of Culture, attended the opening ceremony of children's carnival as part of the International Children's Assembly in Sofia. (1730 GMT 16 July) Yordanov met members of the International Initiative Committee of the Children's Assembly. (1930 GMT 17 July) Together with Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, Georgi Yordanov attended the third session of the World Children's Parliament, held within the Children's Assembly framework. (1730 GMT 18 July) Later on the same day he met with delegates to the Children's Assembly. (1930 GMT 18 July) Yordanov, Agrarian Union Secretary Petur Tanchev, and other officials attended a final concert by participants in International Children's Assembly. (1730 GMT 19 July)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, took part in a joint session of the Shumen Okrug People's Council and other okrug institutions, devoted to progress in agricultural work. (1500 GMT 17 July) Kubadinski also met Sheila Kaul, visiting Indian public figure, and discussed events planned in Bulgaria to mark centenary of Indian Congress Party. (1930 GMT 18 July)

Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Committee Central Control-Auditing Commission, attended funeral of BCP veteran Boris Bogdanov. (1730 GMT 18 July)

Kiril Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and member of the State Council, attended a joint session of the Sofia City BCP Committee and Sofia City People's Council, which dealt with preparations for the 13th Party Congress. (0800 GMT 19 July)

CSO: 2200/176

14 August 1985

## BULGARIA

## ZHIVKOV ATTENDS BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION FOR DZHAGAROV

AU151934 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 15 Jul 85

[Text] A festive celebration was held at Sofia's Ivan Vasov National Theater tonight to mark the 60th birthday of Academician Georgi Dzhagarov.

All those attending the ceremony greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov with exceptional warmth. The honorary presidium also included Comrade Yordan Yotov, Georgi Atanasov, Georgi Yordanov, and [name indistinct].

The celebration was attended by deputy chairmen of the State Council and outstanding public and cultural figures.

The ceremony was opened by Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union. A decree of the State Council was read on the award of the title Hero of Socialist Labor to Academician Georgi Dzhagarov for his active participation in the struggle against capitalism and fascism, his literary work, and his sociopolitical and statesmanly activities, and on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov presented Academician Dzhagarov with the Golden Star of Socialist Labor and the Georgi Dimitrov Order.

A greeting letter from Comrade Todor Zhivkov was read addressed to the distinguished Bulgarian writer, public figure, poet, and playwright. The letter points out that, educated in the ranks of the heroic communist youth organization and of the BCP, Georgi Dzhagarov, following the victory of the revolution, continued to work with selfless devotion for the bright ideals in literature, culture, and all-round construction of our country.

Academician Panteley Zarev read on the life and work of Academician Georgi Dzhagarov, describing the importance of his creative work.

Academician Georgi Dzhagarov delivered a speech, addressing Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the BCP Central Committee, and all those present at the ceremony with cordial words of gratitude.

Greetings, messages and letters from local party committees, state departments, and ministries, as well as from cultural institutions all over the country were read. The ceremony closed with a recital of Georgei Dzhagarov's poems.

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES ZSL'S ROMAN MALINOWSKI 9 JULY

AU092005 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Jul 85

[Text] On 9 July Comrade Todor Zhivkov received a ZSL delegation led by Roman Malinowski, president of the party's Supreme Committee and deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke about the successes in Bulgaria's socioeconomic development, and stressed the historic importance of the BCP Central Committee February plenum for developing the scientific-technological revolution in Bulgaria.

The first party and state leader highly evaluated the dynamic ascent of Bulgarian-Polish friendship and the strengthening of the socialist-economic integration between the two fraternal countries. He stressed the importance of the traditionally friendly relations between the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and the ZSL, which contribute to expanding relations of fraternal cooperation between the two countries.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov positively evaluated the fraternal unity of action of the PZPR and the ZSL and the ZSL contribution to the political stabilization and economic reconstruction of Poland.

Roman Malinowski briefed Comrade Zhivkov in detail on Poland's development and on the ZSL's participation in solving the country's problems. He stressed the importance of Bulgaria's successes and constructive policy for the cause of socialism and peace.

CSO: 2200/176

BULGARIA

TALKS WITH FRG TRADE UNION DELEGATION REPORTED

AU091836 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 9 Jul 85

[Text] Sofia, 9 Jul (BTA)--Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and Mr Ernst Breit, president of the Union of the West German Trade Unions, spoke here of their willingness to develop trade union relations.

The two trade union leaders, who are heading the two delegations at the talks, briefed each other on the tasks and issues standing before their organisations at this stage. These tasks are namely the introduction of the new economic approach in Bulgaria and the struggle of West-German workers to curb unemployment.

The two leaders voiced their concern over the increase in tension in international relations and exchanged views in this respect concerning the role of the trade unions in the preservation of peace and the limiting of the arms race.

The Bulgarian side to the talks noted that the differences in the views of certain national and international trade union organisations should not be turned into barriers before the joint trade union actions for peace and disarmament.

Mr Ernst Breit expressed his organisation's negative attitude to the White House plan to wage the so-called "Star Wars." He gave a positive assessment to the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, which is scheduled to take place in Geneva.

The two trade union leaders expressed their joint desire to seek new ways to broaden the contacts between their organisations.

CSO: 2200/176

BULGARIA

SYRIAN DELEGATION'S ACTIVITIES REPORTED

AU181204 Sofia BTA in English 1037 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jul (BTA)--Today Mr Peter Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received the visiting delegation of the National Progressive Front of Syria, led by Mr Abdul Razak Aud, [spelling as received] member of the CC of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party and secretary of the party and of the National Progressive Front in the town in Deir Ez Zor [spelling as received].

Satisfaction was expressed with the successful promotion of Bulgarian-Syrian relations. Mr Peter Tanchev expressed the support of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and of the Bulgarian public for Syria's consistently anti-imperialist policy and for her stand on a comprehensive, durable and just settlement of the Middle East crisis.

The Syrian guests returned thanks for the principled position of Bulgaria on the Arab problems. They commended highly Bulgaria's constructive peace-loving policy and welcomed the Bulgarian initiative on turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

CSO: 2200/176

BULGARIA

LPRP DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU170920 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jul 85 p 2

[BTA report: "Familiarization with the BCP's Experience"]

[Text] A working group from the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Central Committee led by Kkhambon Neokinnali [spelling as transliterated], acting chief of cabinet of the LPRP Central Committee, visited our country at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee 24 June-19 July. It familiarized itself with the BCP's experience in questions concerning the party leadership of industry and agriculture and the new economic machinery.

The guests were received by Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and by Central Committee Secretaries Dimitur Stanshev and Kiril Zarev.

During the meetings, which were held in a cordial comradely atmosphere, the Lao comrades were briefed on the activity of Bulgarian communists and the whole people for a fitting welcome of the 13th BCP Congress and for the implementation of the BCP Central Committee February and March (1985) plenum decisions, and also on a broad range of issues concerning the activity of party and state organizations and organs.

CSO: 2200/176

BULGARIA

# BRIEFS

FILIPOV, YORDANOV RECEIVE INDIAN VISITOR--Sofia, Jul (BTA)--Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today the prominent Indian Republic figure Mrs Sheila Kaul. During the talks Mr Filipov and Mrs Kaul underlined the importance of the fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and India to the benefit of their peoples, peace and security in the world. They discussed some issues concerning the further deepening of the relations between the two countries in different spheres of life. Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, also took part in the discussions. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1222 GMT 17 Jul 85 AU]

YORDANOV RECEIVES MONTREAL MAYOR--Sofia, 22 Jul (BTA)--Today Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy premier and chairman of the Committee for Culture, received Mr Jean Drapeau, prominent Canadian lawyer and politician, who has been Mayor of Montreal for more than a quarter of a century now. They discussed the further expansion of cultural cooperation between Canada and Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1026 GMT 22 Jul 85 AU]

RADIO COOPERATION WITH PDRY--A working protocol between the Bulgarian Committee on Television and Radio and the PDRY Radio and Television for the period 1985-86 was signed on 27 June in Sofia by Stefan Tikhchev, chairman of the Committee on Television and Radio, and Izaddin Muhammad Kashar [spelling as transliterated], PDRY deputy minister of information. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jun 85 p 8 AU]

ARGENTINE CP DELEGATION VISITS--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, from 17 to 27 June, a delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina led by Ricardo Clementi and Alfredo Dratman, members of the Central Committee Political Commission of the Communist Party of Argentina, visited Bulgaria. The delegation was briefed on the BCP experience in organizational and ideological work among the public and mass organizations. The delegation was received by Georgi Atanasov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee. During the talks, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, information was exchanged on the tasks which the two parties are solving at the present stage, and on some topical international issues. A total unanimity of opinions on all issues discussed was noted. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jun 85 p 8 AU]



ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES IRAQ'S SADDAM HUSAYN--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a greetings telegram to Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and president of the Republic of Iraq, on the country's national day. The telegram expresses confidence in the sound development and deepening of the relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Republic of Iraq for the benefit of both peoples and for the sake of strengthening peace, cooperation, and understanding in the world. [Text] [Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Jul 85 p 1 AU]

MADAGASCAR OFFICIAL VISIT--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, a delegation from the Party of the Congress of Independence of Madagascar (AKFM), visited our country from 8 to 17 July 1985. The delegation was headed by Rakotovao Andriantiana, minister of posts and telecommunications of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar and member of the AKFM Politburo. The delegation met Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee. A protocol of cooperation between the BCP and the AKFM was signed for the 1986-87 period. The delegation from Madagascar laid a wreath at the mausoleum of the Bulgarian people's leader and teacher, and outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement, Georgi Dimitrov. The delegation visited a number of industrial and agricultural projects and was briefed on the experience of the BCP and on the achievements of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in building a developed socialist society. The guests from Madagascar also held meetings and talks at the Sofia Dimitrov BCP rayon committee, and the okrug committees of Sofia, Lparzardzhik, and Stara Zagora, as well as at the Fatherland Front National Council. They also met Pando Vanchev, minister of communications. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jul 85 p 6 AU]

CHILEAN COMMUNIST TEITELBAUM VISIT--Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met Volodya Teitelbaum, member of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission, who is visiting our country. The meeting proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere. The two sides briefed each other on the chief tasks which the BCP and the Chilean Communist Party are coping with at the present stage of development and the irrevocable readiness of both fraternal parties to consolidate and develop their mutual relations on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism was reaffirmed. Some topical problems of the worldwide communist and workers movement and of the international situation were discussed, as well with particular emphasis on the situation in Latin America. The full unanimity of the BCP and of the Chilean Communist Party on all questions discussed was pointed out during the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jul 85 p 8 AU]

CSO: 2200/176

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. MONEY WILL NOT WIN IN AFGHANISTAN

LD142057 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 14 Jul 85

[Text] The United States continues in its subversive activity against Democratic Afghanistan. This is borne out, among other things, by the military assistance to counterrevolutionary bands approved by the House of Representatives of the American congress. Michal Michalcik, an editor, has this say on this subject:

President Reagan even demanded the sum of \$625 million for some kind of charity or humane aid to this country, that is exactly 150 percent more than in the current year. What this charity or humane aid means in practice was demonstrated by the Mujahidin, that is the enemies of the Afghan revolution, at the Kabul airport recently where more than 40 people lost their lives in a bomb explosion in the main hall, or in Jalalabad where they blew up a children's hospital in a day-light. They have many more such "humane" actions on their account: 1,814 school buildings, 39 hospitals, 906 cooperative farms, dozens of bridges, hundreds of kilometers of telephone lines. The direct damage alone they have inflicted on the Afghan national economy represents more than \$800 million, not to mention hundreds of lives lost, including women and children. No, nothing has truly changed in the existing extremely hostile attitude of the American government to the Afghan revolution.

If we are to be nonetheless accurate on the whole, however, one can, after all, detect here a certain trend. The bigger the successes of the Afghan national economy and the stronger the country's people's army, the higher are the sums on the cheques channeled from Washington either by way of the CIA or other states and armaments concerns to Pakistan, destined for Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

The fact is the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST admitted openly that the undeclared war against Afghanistan is the biggest operation undertaken by the United States since the end of the war in Vietnam. After the fall of the Shah of Iran it was to have been the very territory of Afghanistan and in particular the 2,400-km-long frontier with the Soviet Union that was to have become the new springboard against the first socialist country in the world. The whole action was already in full swing by the end of 1979. The plans of Washington failed, however, and up to now they have been encountering an ever stronger resistance by the people of that country, resistance or rather more precisely the defense of the gains of the people's democratic revolution, coupled with the desire for freedom and independence. In such wars money only seldom wins.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PALESTINIAN LEADER CRITICIZES U.S. STRATEGY IN MIDEAST

LD022111 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 2 Jul 85

/Text/ We have had the pleasure of welcoming to our studios the General Secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine Mr Nayif Hawatimah, at present visiting Czechoslovakia. We asked him for his opinion on the PLO unity and for overcoming the difficulties now faced by the Arab nation in general and the Palestinians in particular:

/Begin Hawatimah recording in Arabic with superimposed English translation/  
Frankly, I'd like to thank you for the opportunity to speak over your radio station. It is general knowledge that the PLO is experiencing this crisis resulting from the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 1982, but it has experienced many crises over its 20-year existence. The difference lies in the fact that we have so far been able to overcome previous crises within a couple of weeks or months at the most, due to the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestine Resistance Movement had freedom within their own movement and the right to independent decisionmaking. Simply, they were able to make their own decisions. All this changed in the very difficult conditions following the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 1982. We lost the firm ground on which we had stood for many years. We lost the strategic capital of the Palestine resistance movement, Beirut, and we lost southern Lebanon, where we had concentrated all Palestinian resistance forces in coordination with Lebanese patriotic forces.

We in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, together with other democratic forces, strive for the restoration of PLO unity and we reject the splits and the infighting between Palestinians. We jointly call for the opening of a democratic peace dialogue on all disputed questions to secure the realization of the will of our people, the patriotic and democratic forces, and all other progressive forces in the Arab world. That's why the Democratic Union, consisting of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Palestinian Communist Party will soon come out with an initiative designed to speed up the reunification of the PLO. /end recording/

Recently we've seen how the Palestinian camps in West Beirut have been exposed to new massacres. U.S. vessels have again come in close to the Lebanese coast, allegedly to rescue American hostages from the hijacked plane. What is the objective of the United States' present policy, not only in Lebanon but also in the Middle East, was our next question.

The United States has not changed its strategic plans. Their aim is to achieve hegemony in the Middle, to transform the region into an American oil sea /as heard/ and to construct a chain of American military bases targeted against our nations and also against the Central European socialist nations and against the southern part of the Soviet Union. Under the Reagan administration's global strategy of military pacts, involving Israel and some Arab countries, the United States is trying to site medium-range nuclear weapons in the Middle East to be able to reach the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Central Europe, and as I said, the U.S. strategy in that part of the world has not changed.

What is changing, though, are the United States' tactics designed to put through capitulationist solutions step by step. This also explains the present U.S. military demonstration in Lebanese territorial waters and the threat of a possible military intervention in that country, said the general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Mr Nayif Hawatimah.

CSO: 2020/172

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. ACTIONS 'CONSTITUTE STATE TERRORISM'

LD101227 Prague CTK in English 1031 GMT 10 Jul 85

[Text] Prague, 10 Jul (CTK)--"Evidence can be found in statements of the members of the Reagan administration, the White House and the State Department that Washington openly interferes in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and claims the right to decide what kind of a social system, what kind of a government this or that state should have", today's RUDE PRAVO said.

Commenting on the term, the Reagan doctrine, which has begun to appear in the American press, radio and television, it said that it is used for a policy whose characteristics are export of counterrevolution, recruitment of mercenaries for subversive acts and espionage against socialist countries and the states which embarked on the road of progressive orientation.

"The U.S. Government has adopted export of counterrevolution and subversion as its official policy, although its actions are at variance with the U.N. charter, and in fact constitute 'state terrorism'", RUDE PRAVO said.

It pointed out that Ronald Reagan described Nicaragua, Cuba and other states as countries supporting international terrorism, and that he evidently seeks to use the situation after the hijacking of a TWA airliner for the purpose of diverting attention from the acts of international, state terrorism committed by the United States itself, such as the generous support given to Afghan counterrevolutionaries and the Kampuchean emigre clique.

CSO: 2020/164

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REAGAN RESORTS TO 'OLD TRICK' WITH TERRORISM CHARGES

LD111222 Prague CTK in English 1034 GMT 11 Jul 85

[Text] New York, 11 Jul (CTK correspondent)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan's recent address to the American Bar Association has proved again that his government which elevated terrorism to state policy resorts to the old trick when a thief calls "catch the thief."

The U.S. President went as far as comparing the governments of Nicaragua, Cuba, People's Korea, Libya and Iran to the Hitler regime. He accused the five states of allegedly committing "open acts of war" against the USA and in this context claimed the USA had a right to self-defence. Even the U.S. press voiced concern that this means another U.S. threat of armed intervention in various parts of the world.

It is an irony that the shameful statements concerning these countries were made by the same man who ordered the armed aggression against Grenada, the mining of Nicaraguan ports and honoured the "memory" of SS-MEN during his recent visit to the FRG. Reagan does obviously fails realize that Nicaragua does not train any troops for attacking the USA and killing innocent people as the CIA-PAID cut-throats are doing in Nicaragua. [sentence as received]

Ronald Reagan made his speech only several days after Canadian and Japanese authorities announced that terrorists charged with the attack on an Indian plane had been trained in a camp in Alabama, after further bloody acts by the Pretoria regime against its own people, acts which are strongly condemned by the world public but remained without any comment in the President's address.

CSO: 2020/164

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S FOJTÍK ON IMPERIALIST 'LIES'

AU051909 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5 (signed to press 14 May 85) pp 30-40

[Article by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Presidium candidate member and Central Committee secretary: "Loyal to the Revolutionary Heritage"]

[Excerpts] Forty years have passed since those memorable days when the heroic Soviet Army liberated our homeland. Marshal Konev's operations in Prague ended the Great Patriotic War against fascist Germany and the 6 years of the Czechoslovak people's resistance against the occupation rule.

Aware of the voices that for some time now have claimed that celebrating Victory Day--which is one of the greatest and most important anniversaries--is improper, we think of Europe's future with the greatest anxiety and concern. Is this political primitivism and inability to learn from history and from the most obvious and horrible lesson given to the world by the most brown echelon of imperialism's reactionary forces?

Today, everything is being done in the White House, the Pentagon, and the NATO staffs to undermine the present relative military-strategic balance. The United States is not only continuing to deploy offensive medium-range missiles in the FRG and some other West European countries, but has begun producing new MX strategic missiles. At the same time, it has decided to take a most crucial measure--to exploit space for its aggressive plans. This extremely dangerous policy is supposed to enable the United States to negotiate with all countries from the position of strength--from the position of a country that can afford everything: blackmail, diktat, and ultimatum.

Even today we witness gross imperialist efforts to hinder in various ways the socialist countries' political and economic development, to apply various forms of embargo against them, to make it difficult for them to participate in the international division of labor and trade, and to subject them to many discriminatory campaigns. The "crusade" against socialism, which was proclaimed by R. Reagan in the British Parliament in 1983 prior to the cynically planned provocation with the South Korean airliner, is being continued in various forms, especially in the form of economic and psychological warfare. In this way imperialist reaction wants to take revenge for the postwar changes in the world's political map, for the establishment of the world system of socialism, for the defeat of colonialism, and for the birth of dozens and dozens of states that have decided to be independent of imperialism.

The reinstatement of imperialist rule over the world and the establishment of a U.S. dominating position "worldwide" are the strategic goals that the U.S. Government and its imperialist helpers continue to follow in their policy. Amassing extremely destructive weapons, developing modern new weapons, and using the most recent achievements of man's genius as threats are the logical results of this policy. Universal death in the cauldron of a nuclear war is not a motive taken from a fantastic novel. It is a possibility which could become reality but for the fact that the imperialist forces are unable to continue their policy unopposed and that they are opposed by forces capable of putting an end to this absolutely hazardous policy. Fortunately, the world does not depend on the whims of the militarists.

The world military-strategic balance is the bulwark of the fighters for peace. It has been most fortunate for mankind that the United States has never achieved the general superiority that would guarantee a clear victory for it and that the USSR has always been able to respond in time to the U.S. challenge in creating new systems of armaments. Immediately after the so-called cold war had begun in 1946 on Truman's and Churchill's initiative, the USSR eliminated U.S. superiority on account of nuclear weapons. It eliminated it soon enough to prevent the United States from using these weapons against the USSR and the people's democracies. The present military-strategic balance ties the hands of the militarists and continues to remind them of the risk of every rash measure. However, this balance is unable to exclude the possibility that a subjective factor may fail. That is why the USSR and the socialist countries, in line with the wishes of all nations, seek to stem the feverish armaments, to freeze nuclear armaments, to begin lowering the threshold of all armaments, and to prevent space from being militarized.

Julius Fucik's [communist journalist executed by Nazis during last war] latchword: "Countrymen, I have loved you, be vigilant!" is now all the more valid and urgent since the hypocrisy of the so-called creators of peace who want to rule the world is based on a mighty propaganda machine, which is one of the greatest dangers threatening mankind. These creators hark back to the German imperialists' program that failed and want to gain the laurels for which Hitler stretched his hand in vain.

The network of this propaganda machine is very extensive, has actually penetrated every nook of the world, and continue to spread out. It is equipped with modern installations and carefully selected personnel who can be absolutely trusted because of their fanatical highly mercenary motives. However, what is decisive is the fact that this machine has for a long time rejected all information and journalistic materials that do not fit an accurately developed propaganda scheme, which must include only that which glorifies capitalism as a "natural" social system and that which presents socialism as the greatest danger to man. There exists no lie that could not be made hallowed enough to serve as the purest truth if it can glorify capitalism and diabolize socialism.

It is obvious that this situation makes it necessary for us not only to increase our vigilance, but above all to develop our ideological work in an active and militant manner and to continue to coordinate it within the



socialist community, as was again stressed by the 6 March Moscow international conference of the ideological secretaries of the fraternal parties' Central Committees.

Three great lies are the backbone of the propaganda promoted by imperialist reactionaries, who are energetically seeking to promote imperialism of information throughout the world and deprive the revolutionary, progressive and peace forces of every opportunity to propagate and defend their concepts, views, and the real truth about our times.

The primary lie is the lie about the so-called Soviet threat and "Moscow doings." This lie is supposed to explain all imperialist failures and defeats since the Great October Socialist Revolution. The lie about the Soviet military threat is especially brazen. It is precisely with the help of this fictitious threat that the imperialists tirelessly continue to justify their unceasing efforts to increase military budgets and to escalate armaments, on the one hand, and to create and fan the hotbeds of tension worldwide, on the other, because these hotbeds are supposed to make it necessary for the imperialists to be present militarily in all "zones of interests." Actually, the United States has now proclaimed almost the entire world to be such a zone.

The second big lie promoted by the reactionary forces of imperialism alleges that the socialist community and the progressive system established since the war have not been created by the will of the peoples concerned, but were imposed by force as a result of the alleged division of Europe into "zones of influence" by the Yalta and Potsdam meetings of the Great powers. This second lie is linked to the third big lie, which continues to be stubbornly propagated by imperialist reactionaries in order to play down the main result of postwar development--real socialism. This third lie states that socialism offers no prospects for man's development, that it ramples on human rights, and that it is a "totalitarian" system.

Nothing could be more obtuse and stupid than this lie, and yet we continue to encounter pronouncements that are wholly based on the lie about the history of the postwar period and on the slanders of the socialist system. It is with the help of such lies that Western activists formulate their plans for "liberating" the peoples of our countries, for rehabilitating "democracy" in them, for "helping the suffering peoples" in them, and on on.

The pressure and intrigues against which we fought in Czechoslovakia originated with those who sought protection against our people from the Western reactionaries. These reactionaries tried every means to rescue the positions of the bankrupt bourgeoisie, which had been compromised by collaboration with the Nazis. They tried to rescue its system, its property, and its "right" to run the state. The U.S. Army demonstrated in the areas it had occupied what it meant by a new order. It not only failed to disarm the fascists and SS murders who had fled before the Red Army, but also made it impossible for the Czechoslovak people's authorities to organize life in line with the laws of our country and with the program of the National Front Government.

It was especially democracy that was the most delicate issue for our bourgeoisie and its western patrons. Most of our people knew very well what had happened in the name of democracy in our country before the war and did not want spurious democracy as a screen for the merciless rule of the bourgeoisie and land owners. They wanted real democracy, and that is why they demanded that the people's councils should be the basis of revolutionary rule and that the political system of the National Front should enable the workers class and the masses to determine the country's fate. That is why they demanded the nationalization of property belonging to the rich bourgeoisie and to all alien intruders and collaborators and the confiscation of the lands belonging to the church dignitaries, who traditionally served the enemies of the people.

This was the resolve of our people, and it was expressed by the CPCZ as attested to by the events in February 1948. Unshakably abiding by the tested Leninist principles of socialist construction, our party is capable of solving even the most complicated problems without losing its vision of the future and without ignoring the entire meaning of our activities determined by our great goals of serving the working people and transforming them into people of the era of communism.

CSO: 2600/908

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY PRESS ON CSSR-HUNGARIAN DANUBE PROJECT

AU101328 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 8 July on page 3 carries a 2,100-word article by Oldrich Zabochnik entitled "Danube Belongs to Construction Workers." The article deals with the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros set of hydroelectric project, a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian venture on the Danube. The same project is also the subject of a 1,400-word article by Milan Zelenay in Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 9 July on page 3, published under the headline "Let Us Dispel on Time Clouds Gathering Over the Danube."

Zabochnik opens the RUDE PRAVO article by delineating the scope and the benefits of the project. He says: "The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydroelectric power stations warrants the comprehensive use of the 220-km section of the Danube between Bratislava and Budapest. It envisages the use of the river's power-generating potential; in an average year, the Gabcikovo and Nagymaros hydroelectric power plants should produce 3,675 gigawatt hours of electricity, of which 1,525 gigawatt hours should be peak current. This is equivalent to the annual burning of 3.8 million metric tons of brown coal or 1 million metric ton of crude oil in a thermal power station. No less important will be the construction of a deep-water navigation route with a minimum depth of 3.6 to 4 meters, a minimal width of 180 meters, and a minimal radius of curvature of 1 km. All Danube sailors will be pleased to hear that the Rajka-Gonyu ford--where only costly realignment and constant dredging helped to maintain a depth of navigation of 1.7 to 2.5 meters--will be eliminated.

"The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project will also ensure a better protection of the surrounding area against floods. The existing levels are being rebuilt to make their subsoil leakage-proof. It was precisely defective subsoil that 20 years ago brought about the bursting of the flood banks near Cicov and Patince, which caused a big flood. During the flood in 1935, Danube water flooded more than 100,000 hectares, almost one-half of the Zitny Ostrov (the fertile region of the Danube lowlands). The guarantee that there will not be any repetition of such a situation will also be enhanced by a 17-km diversion channel on our territory, which is to be used, inter alia, to divert part of the flow from the Danube riverbed, in the event of a flood.

"The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project will also establish favorable conditions for the further economic development of the Danube lowlands. Aside from ensuring better flood protection, it will permit gravitational diversion of water

for large-scale irrigation and for industrial use, while at the same time regulating the level of underground water. The large storage lakes--on the CSSR and Hungarian territory, these lakes are to cover an area of 60 square km each--as well as the realigned arms of the Danube will provide suitable conditions for sport and reaction. A favorable impact on the microclimate of the adjacent area is also anticipated. New large water areas also usually bring about greater precipitation, which would be advantageous for the Zitny Ostrov.

"Our section of the system under construction consists of the Hrusov-Dunakiliti storage lake; the weir at Dunakiliti, the supply channel and the Gabcikovo stage on it; the tail channel; the deepening of the Danube river bed under the village of Palkovicovo; and realignment measures in the original riverbed and in the arms of the Danube."

Zabojnik then mentions that work on the project "intensively continues" and that about 4,000 people work at the construction site at present. He goes on to say: "It is possibly the dispersion of these 4,000 people on a large area that accounts for the fact that some Western experts on antisocialist propaganda and on manipulating gullible people from time to time, depending on their political needs, see nothing here, except for misunderstandings--the nature of which is never specified--between the participating partners and technical, financial, and other 'problems,' which permit the authors of these pieces of misinformation to 'slow down,' 'discontinue,' or simply sweep off the table this project on the pages of their newspapers or in their radio programs whenever they please. Meanwhile, however, this great undertaking continues." Even this year's severe winter, Zabojnik says, has not slowed down work on the project "significantly."

The author goes on to say that about Kcs4.5 billion have been invested in the project in the 7 years since its start. Despite the "formidable" total costs of the project, however, these should be redeemed within 10 years after completion.

Zabojnik then turns to the construction of the 17-km supply channel leading to the Gabcikovo power plant. He says that this artificial channel, which will also be used for navigation, will be between 267 and 737 meters wide and between 7 and 14 meters deep, which will make it "the largest channel of its kind in the world." It will have a rate of flow of 5,000 cubic meters per second and its water will be used to drive 8 Kaplan turbines with a total power-generating capacity of 720 megawatts. These turbines are to be supplied by the CKD Blansko enterprise. The difference between the level of the supply channel and the 8-km tail channel that will divert the water from Gabcikovo back to the original Danube river bed will reportedly be more than 23 meters. Zabojnik also says that both the Gabcikovo and the Nagymaros power plants will have two lock chambers, each of them 275 meters long and 34 meters wide. A fifth, "auxiliary," lock chamber is to be built at the Dunakiliti weir.

The author goes on to discuss the "extensive" additional projects connected with the construction of the hydroelectric plant. He says that the signalling equipment that will supply information on the state of the flood banks will cost Kcs300 million alone. Furthermore, because of a 3-meter rise in the level of the Danube, it will be necessary to reconstruct 138 km of protective

dams and to build 11 pumping stations. These protective measures, which must be taken not only on the Danube but also on its tributaries, will reportedly require an investment of almost Kcs2.5 billion. Speaking about necessary additional investments, Zabochnik also mentions that during the construction of the foundations of the Gabčíkovo power plant and its supply channel, "it had to be taken into account that this is an active earthquake zone."

The article concludes by discussing cooperation between the Czechoslovaks and the Hungarians. It says: "They follow the progress of our work and we follow their progress. We consult and complement one another. In addition to virtually daily contacts, there are also regular monthly sessions of a joint operational group, which assesses what has been done already and steers the further course of action. This is of great practical significance."

"A gigantic joint project of two socialist countries is growing on the Danube. Both partners will jointly take part in the use of this joint investment which represents a further important step in the practical implementation of the continuing integration of the countries of the socialist community."

The Zelenay article in Bratislava PRAVDA deals with the problems facing construction workers at the site of the future power station. The author notes that this year alone, employees of the Hydrostav Bratislava construction enterprise should place about 112,000 cubic meters of concrete at Gabčíkovo, and next year at many as 400,000 cubic meters. To be able to cope with this task, he says, Hydrostav would require 450 iron workers and 280 carpenters, professions which are both in short supply. Despite recruitment and retraining efforts, says Zelenay, it will probably not be "within the Power" of Hydrostav to ensure these numbers.

Another problem concerns a shortage of technology. Zelenay says: "Hundreds of thousands of cubic meters of concrete cannot be handled without a technologically integrated system of machinery and equipment. That which is at the construction site today, we are told by Alfred Lacek, director of Hydrostav Bratislava, is only a provisional arrangement. There is a shortage of cranes from planned imports as well as of transport bands for placing the concrete mixture. It is scarcely possible to expect any work successes without this technology. The working people's initiative, no matter how exemplary, would be in vain. The start of the new stage of decisive work on the project is thus accompanied by problems. Similar problems were experienced at the system of hydroelectric projects already a few years ago. It seems, though, that we will have to pay once again dearly for our experience."

Another participating enterprise that has to cope with problems is, according to Zelenay, Doprastav Bratislava. He says: "In April, employees of Doprastav Bratislava were supposed to start sealing the banks of the supply channel with asphalt-concrete. But the delivery of equipment on which hinges the operation of many other machines has been delayed. And the consequence? The equipment will not arrive before the end of the year. As we were told by Engineer Vladimír Petrátur from Bratislava Doprastav, the builders will lose a whole season in this way. If they are unable to start earlier, they will

have to make up for the shortfall by increasing their work efforts later on. But the builders of the project would not have to undergo such tense situations if the selection and study of tenders and the purchase of machinery were to a greater degree subordinated to the needs of the project and to the builders' deadlines, which are binding for them. We do not want to belittle the exactingness of the purchase and import of expensive machinery. The existing practice shows, however, shortcomings in the methods being currently applied, shortcomings that are causing unnecessary difficulties and even damage to the national economy."

In concluding the article, Zelenay says: "In the past years, the builders of the system of hydroelectric power plants on the Danube were among those construction collectives that were fulfilling their tasks in an exemplary way. This year they are starting, or were supposed to start, extensive concreting, asphalt-concreting, and other work. People at the construction site say that they have arrived at a turning-point of technology. New tasks have brought with them new problems of construction. Metaphorically speaking, after successful years clouds are beginning to gather over the system of hydroelectric projects. It is, however, within the power of the employees of the relevant institutions and organizations to dispel them on time."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### DAILY ON CHRISTIAN PEACE ASSEMBLY DELIBERATIONS

AU101340 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 July carries on front pages CTK reports ranging from 350 to 800 words on the deliberations from the second to the sixth day of the All-Christian Peace Assembly currently being held in Prague.

CTK reports that the chairman of the Christian Peace Conference, Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios [name as published] from India, was the main speaker at the second day [3 Jul] of the Assembly's session. The Metropolitan "pointed out, above all, the dangerous U.S. plans for the militarization of outer space. He stressed that the purpose of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, as they call the military hegemony over outer space, is not the security of the United States, but the wish of imperialist and neocolonialist forces to control the world economy for the purpose of exploitation. All mankind should oppose these intentions that violate the SALT treaty, elicit a new round of arms buildup, and escalate the possibility of nuclear war." He also "devoted himself to the economic situation in the world, especially to the exploitation of the African continent by supranational companies. Therefore the struggle for peace must, at the same time, be the struggle for justice and against the capitalist manner of exploitation," CTK reports the Metropolitan as having said among other things.

Another speaker at the session was Mrs Fumiko Amano [name as published], "who as a 14-year-old girl only by coincidence survived the atomic bomb explosion in Hiroshima. She vividly described the day on which the city was transformed into a ball of fire, in which everything living perished and burned," CTK reports.

Reporting on the third day [4 Jul] of the Assembly's agenda, CTK says CSSR President Gustav Husak received that day a delegation of Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly, led by Bishop Dr Karoly Toth, president of the Christian Peace Conference, who informed G. Husak about the proceedings and goals of the Assembly's session, "whose purpose is to unify the endeavor of Christian and other church organizations to save the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe."

In his reply, Husak "highly valued the active and selfless activity of the Christian Peace Conference, which united representatives of various churches and confessions throughout the world to jointly with all people of goodwill

safeguard peace on our planet," and stressed the importance of peace as the prerequisite of the very existence and the further development of our civilization, Husak said in part.

Prof Dr Walter Kreck from Bonn was the main speaker at the fourth day [5 Jul] of the Assembly's session, CTK reports.

In his report, "pondering the peace mission of Christian churches," Kreck "noted the fact that although millions of people throughout the world reject war, there has been no success in halting the arms buildup. The United States does not react positively to the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals--on the contrary, it is trying to gain military superiority, in connection with which it counts on the first nuclear strike as well as with the militarization of outer space. Churches cannot sidestep political responsibility for the contemporary situation in the world, they must back their support for peace with concrete deeds.

"The churches' service to peace cannot limit itself only to rejecting the arms buildup, but should also help people to realize that war is an instrument for the exploitation of nations, classes, and races," Kreck said, adding that "today the churches' mission is to stand on the side of the exploited ones, support liberation movements, prevent racism, and reject false theses about the so-called threat from the East and other forms of cold war, with which imperialist and militarist circles are trying to disguise their war preparations."

The fifth day's [6 Jul] deliberations were "concentrating mainly on questions of peaceful coexistence and the liberation of nations," CTK reports. It says Roman Catholic Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo [from Mexico] spoke in that connection about the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean. He "depicted anticommunism as the greatest obstacle to solidarity and unity of nations and governments in the struggle against intervention and the threat of imperialism in Latin America." That has become especially obvious after the victory of the Cuban revolution, Arceo said, and mentioned also that "the attack on the efforts to change attitudes within the Roman-Catholic Church after the second Vatican Council was a cunning attempt on behalf of the U.S. Administration to evoke the suspicion of communist influence on churches in Latin America. Also the campaign aimed at the so-called modernization of old church social doctrines had the purpose of diverting popular masses from their revolutionary endeavors. However, despite all the U.S. Administration's pressure on high church circles, many Christians, together with clergymen, joined the ranks of those fighting for fundamental human rights, independence, and social justice," Arceo said in part.

Another speaker--the Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia, Filaret--said that day at a meeting of Soviet and U.S. delegates that "the churches of the Soviet Union and the United States have shown the possibility of establishing friendly relations between the two countries, regardless of the conditions in which they live," CTK reports, adding that also members of the U.S. and Nicaragua delegations met and "adopted a joint declaration expressing the determination



to maintain mutual Christian unity and work for achieving just and peaceful relations between the two sovereign states. At the same time, they condemned all steps undertaken by the U.S. Administration to fund and carry out aggression against the government and the people of Nicaragua."

In the course of the work deliberations that day, the delegates elected new bodies of the Christian Peace Conference. Dr Karoly Toth, bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church, was reelected chairman, and the Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia, Filaret, was reelected chairman of a 170-member committee for the continuation of the Christian Peace Conference's work, CTK reports.

Reporting the sixth and last day [9 Jul] of the Assembly's deliberations, CTK says in part that the participants in the session assessed, among other things, "reports of individual working groups that addressed themselves in the course of the Assembly to the global strategy of peace work, to the peace mission of Christian churches, to the joint responsibility of peace forces for overcoming obstacles standing in the way of peace, to questions pertaining to liberation and peaceful coexistence, and to the program of the Christian Peace Conference's further activity. The ideas that ensued from the deliberations of the working groups were also included in the final documents."

In the evening, in the Prague Palace of Culture, CSSR Deputy Premier Matej Lucan then held a "friendly meeting" with the participants in the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly. On that occasion, the Chairman of the Christian Peace Conference, Dr Karoly Toth, thanked the CSSR Government for the "excellent conditions" created for the deliberations and "expressed the conviction that their results would lead to the strengthening of the cooperation among all peace forces throughout the world," CTK concludes.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

AU111343 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jul 85 p 2

[CTK report: "To Work Actively for the Benefit of Peace"]

[Text] Prague--The new bodies of the Christian Peace Conference, set up by the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly, which ended on Monday, convened for their first session in Prague.

The Committee for Continuing the Work of the Christian Peace Conference elected Dr Lubomir Mirejovsky, minister of the Evangelic Church of Czech Brethren, secretary general of the Christian Peace Conference; it also elected 16 members of the Christian Peace Conference Presidium, who include Professor Dr Jan Michalko, Bishop General of the Slovak Evangelic Church. The Working Committee of the Christian Peace Conference convened at the same time; it set up a 24-member International Secretariat, in which churches from 23 countries throughout the world, including Czechoslovakia, are represented. At the same time, the two committees discussed the main directions of the activities to be pursued by the Christian Peace Conference in the coming period. The primary emphasis was placed on the constantly growing responsibility of the Churches and of Christians for the fate of this world.

The effort to prevent a further deterioration of the international situation, not to permit the occurrence of a nuclear catastrophe, and to aid the establishment of conditions for social development and for the elimination of economic backwardness and of the threat of hunger and poverty in the world--these were the typical features of all statements that resounded at our gathering.

This was stressed in an interview given to a CTK reporter by Karoly Toth, chairman of the Christian Peace Conference, in connection with the conclusion of the work of the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly in the CSSR's capital. Under complicated and mutually contradictory international conditions, he said, the church cannot stand apart from political life, even though some people regard our peace-creating activities as far too political.

He then underscored the growing authority of the Christian Peace Conference, as evidenced by the dozens of greetings messages sent to its Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly by the leading representatives of many states, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, Finland, Greece, Cuba,

Hungary, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, Sweden, Zimbabwe, and the USSR, and also by outstanding international organizations and church representatives.

During the plenary sessions and discussions, the participants in the Prague gathering shared their worries and problems with each other and got to know the longings of their fellow brethren in faith and struggle, as well as the strength of solidarity and support, the chairman of the Christian Peace Conference stated. All this was reflected in the final documents and resolutions, and in the declaration addressed to the governments of all countries, which appeals for the preservation of common sense, for active work for the benefit of peace and disarmament, and against the continuation of the dangerous nuclear race--an appeal which, as we hope, will find an echo among the realistically thinking state, political, and social figures. The tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the living testimony to which was the statement made by Fumiko Amano [spelling as transliterated] from Japan who survived the atomic death of Hiroshima, must not be repeated, Karoly Toth said in conclusion.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ DAILY REVIEWS BOOK BY USSR'S ZAGLADIN

AU082005 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 5 July carries on page 4 a 950-word book review by Josef Skala in the "Our Book Review" Column. The review, entitled "The World Communist Movement," deals with the study of the same name that was elaborated by "a collective of outstanding Soviet scientists under the leadership of Professor Vadim Zagladin, CPSU Central Committee member," and published by the Svoboda publishing house.

The book is said to "provide a well-founded and scientifically substantiated point of view on the broad gamut of issues that stand in the center of the struggle of opposed social systems and forces of our times"; its "new analysis of the pivotal tendencies and moving forces of the world revolutionary process" is said to offer "conclusions which encompass the dialectics of the basic conflict of the present epoch" and which are the "source of the progressive activation of the masses."

The book is said to point out that the imperialist reaction "aims at knocking the communist parties off their combat, vanguard positions" and at turning them into harmless, dignified, and traditional parliamentary class organizations, adding: "At times certain doubts are also being voiced among the ranks of certain communists about the nature of the present role of the communist parties. Their thoughts run something like this: Currently, when broad social strata have joined the class fight, the communists' claims to some kind of specific role are no longer substantiated. They should rather be the loyal partners of other parties and organizations. And, finally, one claims that the communist party must now cease to be 'monolithic'; it must admit in to its ranks various trend, small groups, and even factions... All this, they claim, corresponds to the 'spirit of the times,' which demands more democratism. But, "the review states, "the Marxist-Leninists disagree on principle with such opinions," rejecting the weakening of the workers class by a disintegration and liberalization of its vanguard. The book is said to stress the need of the "existence of a Marxist-Leninist party as the only force capable of correctly defining the way out of the deepening crisis of the bourgeois society" and of becoming the "decisive factor of the organization and unification of all anti-imperialist strata and movements."

The review then says that, "In the principled polemic against the bourgeois and revisionist concepts," the book presents the topical demand for the leading role of communist and workers parties; and that it deals successfully with the "qualitatively new tasks and problems cropping up (in connection

with the defense of man's most basic right to live in peace) and also with the false approaches to the appraisal of these tasks and problems, which sometimes even penetrate the ranks of leftwing and democratic forces."

"From the theoretical and practical-political viewpoints," Skala says, "we find particularly meaningful those chapters that generalize the latest experience of the international communist movement in the effort to consolidate its influence among the ranks of the workers class and among other working people's strata." After listing other topics dealt with in the book, Skala says that its common denominator is the emphasis on experience accumulated in linking the fight for generally democratic goals with the fight for long-term socialist goals, and notes that the book also dwells on the "topical issues of the organizational and ideological consolidation of the communist parties and the development of their international collaboration"; they are quoted as saying that "attempts to adopt an 'independent' stand in the worldwide class battle and to develop the revolutionary movement in any country whatsoever 'independently' from this battle means consciously to weaken the revolutionary forces of the country in question and to deprive them of prospects. The growing mutual dependence between the successes of the revolutionary movement in the individual countries and their mutual support enhances the need of the mutual cooperation of all revolutionary forces, above all, with the socialist countries."

Skala concludes by underscoring that the book contributes to the "grasp of issues, the practical solution of which decides today on the further consolidation of the positions of socialism, social progress, and peace."

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14 August 1985

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## PRAGUE COMMENTARY DEBUNKS BONN VIEW OF POTSDAM AGREEMENT

LD142252 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1515 GMT 13 Jul 85

[Frantisek Vonderka commentary on the 40th anniversary of the Potsdam Agreement]

[Excerpts] There are surely few historical events the significance of which is the subject of passionate debate, even after the lapse of 4 decades, as if they happened only recently. Ranking among them is the conference in the Cecilien Palace in Potsdam. We are currently marking its 40th anniversary. In the former seat of German rulers in Potsdam, the highest representatives of the Soviet Union, United States, and Britain signed documents, which despite the subsequent collapse of the big three or perhaps as a result of this, represent the basis for a peaceful settlement and security in Europe.

Many provisions of the Potsdam conference have remained only on paper and a number of them have been implemented only halfway. This happened as a result of the course of action taken by Washington and London when they feared the growing Soviet Union's influence in the world. It is due to this that voices can be heard from the FRG attempting to question the results of World War II and claiming that the so-called German question continues to be open and must be resolved allegedly in the interest of peace. The view can be heard even from present governing circles in Bonn that the German reich allegedly continues to exist in its 1937 borders and that the German eastern territories are only temporarily under the administration of foreign powers. There is a talk about wrongs committed against the German people which have to be righted. The circles which come up with such claims even attempt to invoke the Potsdam conference, which allegedly left the borders issue open until the peace conference with Germany.

These are utter lies. The expulsion of German minorities from East European states over which members of various revanchist expelees' organizations shed so many tears at their rallies these days, was not a committing of a wrong. It was a harsh but logical consequence of their activity in favor of Hitlerite aggression. These were not actions of licence by East European nations, as the West German right is attempting to present the expulsion of Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia. The decision on the expulsion of German minorities from these countries was taken by the big three at Potsdam after they had thoroughly considered their role in the destruction of Czechoslovakia

and the unleashing of the Second World War. The decision on the expulsion was made to prevent a repetition of something similar in the future and therefore exclusively in the interest of peace.

Potsdam has also proved liars all those who declare that the German Reich allegedly continues legally within its 1937 frontiers and that the territories east of the Oder and Neisse line also belong to it until there is a peace conference. In the Potsdam agreement, the relevant areas beyond this line carry the clear description "former German territories". In other words, even if peace conference were to take place, it was not envisaged to create Germany within her 1937 frontiers as Bonn is trying to assert today. That unified Germany, which they invoke so much in justifying their demands, was to have been created merely within the framework of the occupation zones, which had borders determined at the Potsdam conference. The fact is that at the same time that the West German bourgeoisie and its Western allies also thwarted this chance. It was thwarted by the very people who today speak so pathetically about the necessity of German reunification. Blind anti-communism and fears of losing positions were the reason why they rejected all proposals aimed at the reunification of all occupation zones and the creation of a united democratic German state. The outcome was the creation of two German states independent of each other. Simultaneously with their emergence, the issue of the peace conference with Germany as such ceased to be topical. However the right in Bonn keeps invoking this within the framework of its theses about the alleged openness of the German question. The fact is that it gave a definite answer to this question by the formation of the Federal Republic and its entry into the NATO.

The foundations of the post-war peace settlement in Europe, as they were laid down in Potsdam, and the realities that came into existence and arose out of the conference afterwards have been confirmed during the past 40 years by a whole number of bilateral and multilateral treaties--treaties in which Bonn too, pledged itself not to raise any territorial claims either today or in the future. Despite this such claims can be heard from the Federal Republic itself and especially of late. Regardless of how much West German militarism, which feels encouragement in the shape of American atomic missiles, disguises these claims in phrases about the need for final reconciliation and peace, they represent nothing else but an attack on the realities which have been for the past 40 years a basis of peace. They represent an attack against the present status quo, an attempt to alter the correlation of forces. This is playing with fire, which increases the risk of a new armed conflict. Here, too, the Potsdam documents give an answer, which continues to be very topical; every aggressor must reckon with the consequences of his actions. This is a conclusion which is even more topical since the consequences would today be much more horrible than 40 years ago. Germany lost certain territories in World War II. It would, it is absolutely certain not however, survive a new military conflagration, with which the opponents of the present-day realities in Europe are playing conjuring tricks.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK-SPANISH TU DELEGATIONS SIGN 'PLAN FOR COOPERATION'

LD121819 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 12 Jul 85

[Text] The talks between the representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Workers' Commissions of Spain continued in Prague today. The heads of both delegations, Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members, Central Council of Trade Unions Chairmen, and Marcelino Camacho, Spanish Communist Party Central Committee member and secretary general of the Workers' Commissions of Spain, respectively, signed a plan for Cooperation between both trade union organizations for 1985-1986. The plan pledges support for meetings of representatives of organizations of varied ideological orientations and help in solving issues of peace, disarmament, and the consequences of capitalism's crisis, in particular those of unemployment, environment, and East-West economic and trade unions.

Both organizations' representatives expressed their wish to strengthen the action unity of the international workers' trade union movement in its struggle for preserving world peace.

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14 August 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF CYRIL, METHODIUS REVIEWED

AU090851 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 4 Jul 85 p 4

[Stanislav Urban article in the "Struggle of Ideas" column: "Progress and the Cyril-Methodius Tradition"]

[Excerpts] History provides us with many opportunities for significant commemorative excursions into the past, which have been and will be an opportunity to acquire new inspiration for multiplying the real values of our socialist present.

The linking of anniversaries with the people's life and work is like a thorn in the side of those for whom socialism and our socialist road of development have become synonymous with evil and hate. The Western anti-communist centers have intensified their effort to cast doubt on and to obfuscate the various jubilees linked with life in the socialist countries. This was the case, with regard to Czechoslovakia, in the period of celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army; and this is also the case in connection with the 1100th anniversary of the death of the first Slav archbishop and outstanding cultural-political figure, Methodius.

The Cyril-Methodius tradition represents a significant cultural-historical fact in the cultural history of the Slav peoples. However, it can fulfill its socially progressive function only if it is cleansed of the sediments of pseudohistoric and unscientific deliberate misinterpretations.

It is typical both for the idealistic and for the clerical approaches that they absolutize the religious aspects of Konstantine and Methodius' mission in Greater Moravia; the result of this is its frequent identification with the process of Christianization. In keeping with historical facts, it is nevertheless possible to claim that our "Slav origins" show obvious pre-Christian features.

Since the death of Methodius, whose name is and will be linked with the beginnings of Slav literature, 1100 years have already passed. In connection with the anniversary, numerous attempts have cropped up to abuse his memory. One is counting on making use of the Cyril-Methodius tradition as an ideological tool for unifying Europe on Christian foundations. The clerical

intention to unify Europe has politically striking anticommunist aspects. The Cyril-Methodius tradition is strongly represented on the pages of the emigre press and in various emigre undertakings, where it is being ruthlessly manipulated.

Since the end of World War II, the plans of the clerical forces to misuse the Cyril-Methodius legacy have increasingly been shaking in their foundations. The memory of Greater Moravia has become the object of broad interest in the history of the first common state of the Czechs and the Slovaks, in their culture, and in the issues of their mutuality and cooperation after the fall of the Greater Moravian Empire. In consolidating the mutual relations of our nations we also relied on the progressive aspect of the Cyril-Methodius tradition.

On the occasion of the 1100th anniversary of the death of Methodius we again express respect and recognition for this organizer--outstanding in his day--of the cultural-political and social life at the beginnings of our statehood and our national history. The cultural standards of the people of Greater Moravia fill us with pride in the ancient forefathers of our nations. At the same time we reject the derogation of the Cyril-Methodius tradition and the abuse of this tradition for political antinational aims, usually always conducted by mechanically transposing the circumstances of those times to the present. The socialist society positively appraises those great historic personalities not excluding the Church figures, whose activities moved mankind's development forward. The cultural work of Konstantine and Methodius stood above the standards of spiritual maturity manifested by the Church overlords both in Rome and in Constantinople. From the viewpoint of Europe's future, they were oriented not toward the retrograde forces, but toward living and healthy forces. That is why one can establish contact with their living legacy even today.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE COMMENTS ON MOVE TOWARD DETENTE IN EUROPE

LD101046 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 10 Jul 85

[Excerpts] Is it possible to enliven the process of relaxation of tension in Europe? This question emerges in connection with the announcement that the highest Soviet party representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, will visit France and later will meet with U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Vaclav Kvasnicka discusses the prospects of Europe in this connection:

The report on Mikhail Gorbachev's intended visit to Paris and his coming talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, strengthens the tendency to a more pronounced return to relaxation of tension. Gorbachev's trip to France is seen by many as some kind of renaissance of the seventies--that golden decade of post-war period. At that time, it was the USSR and France who took the first steps toward improving the European climate. This time, however, the situation will not be easier. Francois Mitterrand is not de Gaulle. Nevertheless, the coming USSR-French summit talks might provide an impulse for dialogue between East and West on the more all-round basis of the Helsinki final act than has been the case so far. This was also indicated by Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti in his recent interview to LA REPUBLICA. He said the meeting between the highest Soviet party representative and the U.S. President will also provide an opportunity for Europe to actively contribute toward dialogue between East and West. Another opportunity will also be provided by the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act when ministers of foreign affairs of the signatory states will meet in the Finnish capital.

It is generally surmised that something positive is taking place on the European scene. This is rightly attributed to the active peace policy of the USSR. Following Paris and Washington, even Bonn has expressed interest in a visit by the highest party representative. But for the present, Bonn is treading on thin ice: It would not like to play a subsidiary role in the efforts for a return relaxation of tension, but at the same time it complicates its role by lipservice to Washington, particularly in the question of supporting its conception of militarization of space, generously opening its arms and allowing the deployment of more and more U.S. weapons on its own territory.

And what about Great Britain? It did not play any pronounced role even before to the Helsinki security conference. After Margaret Thatcher became prime

minister, Britain was even the first to sharpen tension in Europe. Now, even London is beginning to think in a more sober way. The current visit of British Mp's to the USSR testifies to this. In his talks with them, Soviet representative Boris Ponomarev stressed that Britain could play a significant role in the efforts to improve international tension. This concerns, for example, the proposal for renewing the tripartite talks between the United States, the USSR, and Britain on a total ban on nuclear tests.

This is how we have arrived at the key questions on which the possibility of imprinting a lasting and reliable character to relaxation of tension will depend. It will depend, above all, on the possibility of halting the arms race and achieving a turn toward disarmament. The Socialist countries have decided in favor of this step.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GERLE, ROMANIA'S CONSTANTIN SIGN COOPERATION DOCUMENT

LD112134 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 11 Jul 85

[Text] The 16th session of the mixed Czechoslovak-Romanian government commission for economic and scientific and technical cooperation ended today in the Kolodeje state castle near Prague. At the close of the session the heads of both delegations, Ladislav Gerle, deputy premier of the federal government and Nicolae Constantin, deputy premier of Romania, signed a document summarizing its results.

During the talks proposals for further deepening of economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Romania in the next period were evaluated. Production cooperation is concentrated in some sectors of engineering, metallurgy, the electrotechnical electronics, chemical and consumer industries. Also on the agenda of the mixed commission were results to date in the coordination on national economic plans of both countries for the years 1986-1990, questions of mutual exchange of goods and cooperation in science and technology.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KAPEK, LENART, COLOTKA ATTEND BRATISLAVA WORKING MEETING

LD102118 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 10 Jul 85

[Text] A working meeting took place in Bratislava today between Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the party city committee in Prague; Frantisek Stafa, mayor of the capital of Czechoslovakia; other representatives of Prague; Gejza Slapka, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the party's city committee in Bratislava; Ladislav Martinak, mayor of the capital of Slovakia; and other officials. Taking part were members of the CPCZ Central Committee presidium; First secretary of the CPSL Central Committee Jozef Lenart; premier of the Slovak government Peter Colotka; and other officials.

The representatives of the capital of Slovakia briefed the guests about the building of Bratislava, in particular the solution to the transport system and transportation of people by the city's public transport. The leading officials of the capital of Czechoslovakia spoke in detail about the fulfillment of development tasks in Prague. They discussed an exchange of experiences and mutual cooperation in building both cities.

CSO: 2400/516

14 August 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CSSR RADIO COUNTERS WESTERN MEDIA ANTIYOUTH FESTIVAL WAVE

LD211308 Prague Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 20 Jul 85

/Text/ Large-scale and successful preparations, which show the unusual scope and unique character of the forthcoming 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow are a thorn in the eye of many Western media. Our Moscow correspondent Stefan Babiak comments on this festival campaign:

/Babiak/ The world meeting of youth has been a target for poisonous arrows launched by Western propaganda from the very moment the news about it became known. At the beginning they were aiming at the supposed lack of democracy of this forum. However, when it became known that young delegates from 150 countries, who represent the widest political spectrum, will attend the Moscow festival, the campaign about the lack of democracy became a mockery and consequently died down altogether.

The next antifestival wave has surfaced now. A number of Western papers paint a gloomy picture of the Soviet capital on the eve of the festival. It is said that Moscow is closed to foreigners and tourists, car owners are forbidden to use their vehicles. Even ambassadors are not allowed to invite guests and relatives for the end of July and beginning of August.

What is really happening? At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs I learned that there are no visa restrictions preventing ambassadorial guests from more than 100 countries to visit Moscow during the festival. The chiefs of diplomatic missions can invite as many of their friends as they can accommodate in the embassy buildings or in their staff flats. Moscow hotels are at present at the full disposal of the delegates, guests and tourists, who will be participating in the world youths' meeting. The festival represents a key event of this year's international Year of Youth and consequently this important function naturally gets priority before other interests. The hosts demonstrated their enormous generosity in this respect. As far as the ban on the use of private cars, it must be added that this is also a fabrication. State automobile inspection officials explained to me that they appealed to private drivers as well as to enterprises and other institutions in the capital to limit the use of their vehicles to a minimum. The explanation for this request is simple. There will be nearly 150 festival functions carried out in Moscow daily and the places where these functions are to be staged are in some cases dozens of kilometers apart. Therefore the special fleet of festival buses will circulate

around town and these buses will understandably have priority everywhere they go. Therefore, the underground will be the most reliable means of transport for each Muscovite during the festival.

It is the interest and comfort of the youth world forum participants which is in many respects the determining factor. This practice was tested fully during the Moscow Olympic Games and the inhabitants of the Soviet capital and its guests praised it without exception. Therefore the only shadow, which is presently being cast upon the festival, is the discriminatory measures against delegates, which have been introduced in certain countries, for instance in the FRG. The attempts to discredit the 12th World Forum of Youth increase proportionately to the world authority of the festival, where young people from all the continents intend to confer about their contribution toward the most topical issues of our time, toward strengthening friendship and understanding among nations, peace and averting the threat of war. The very idea of discussing these issues is disliked not only by Bonn, but also in Washington and in other Western capitals. And so, the bourgeois papers, radio and television started throwing mud at the representative forum of the world youth in advance.

CSO: 2400/519



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EVANGELIC CHURCHMAN ON CHRISTIAN PEACE ASSEMBLY

AU121950 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

/Interview given by Professor Dr Jan Michalko, Bishop General of the Slovak Evangelic Church, chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in the CSSR, and vice president of the Christian Peace Conference, to Kamila Jaskova in Prague: "We Are Building the Bridges of Understanding"; date not given--first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction/

/Excerpts/ The Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly, which is the supreme body of the Christian Peace Conference, was held in the Palace of Culture in Prague from 2-9 July. Toward the conclusion of its deliberations we asked Professor Dr Jan Machalko, Bishop General of the Slovak Evangelic Church, chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in the CSSR, and vice president of the Christian Peace Conference, for an interview.

Jaskova: How would you characterize the Christian Peace Conference?

Michalko: Metaphorically speaking, the Christian peace initiative is building bridges of understanding even over the ocean--bridges of peaceful cooperation. At the same time it is fighting the danger deplorably represented by certain elements in the White House and the FRG.

Jaskova: What are the goals of the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly?

Michalko: The Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly is being held in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory of democratic forces over Hitlerite fascism. Its main goal is to mobilize the public opinion of Christian Churches and thus also of all believers throughout the world in the interest of enhancing their involvement in peace--to mobilize them for a clearcut protest against the threat to the sacred gift of life as represented by the growing danger of a nuclear conflagration. Herein lies its urgency in our times.

Jaskova: Obviously the motto of this assembly can also be understood in this sense.

Michalko: Of course it is necessary to understand the motto of the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly--"Choose Life, Now is the Time!"--above all in its very urgency, to see the problems of the current period with open eyes, and to promptly adopt a clear stand.

Jaskova: How can one characterize the course of the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly?

Michalko: Personally, I am very satisfied with the course on the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly, both as regards the external organizational aspect and particularly as regards the internal aspect of its contents. The statements made by the participants--and not only in the papers that had been prepared, in the reports and the discussion speeches--all testify to the serious approach of all participants to the tasks and goals pursued by this gathering and, in fact, by its catalyst--the Christian Peace Assembly--since its establishment. It is particularly gratifying that the atmosphere of this gathering is most friendly. Undoubtedly, in view of the 600 people present, there also exist different opinions on certain issues, but this exchange of opinions is taking place in a calm and friendly atmosphere. I consider most fruitful the work of all five working groups; and for this reason I would like to express my conviction that the results of this Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly can be regarded as most positive. I assess very positively the fact that the peace documents have been adopted by the absolute majority of the participants. They have thus expressed their personal conviction as well as the conviction of the Churches they represent here. I am convinced that they will find an echo among all Christians and that they will also become a challenge to all responsible statesmen and politicians. I believe that the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly will also find a great echo on UN soil, where we too are registered as a non-governmental organization and where our voice is resounding and being taken seriously.

Jaskova: How do the participants in the gathering see their host country and how do they evaluate the position of churches in Czechoslovakia?

Michalko: On the basis of the talks which I have had, I can say that they are truly enthused. Many of them have already been here. They speak of new beauties not seen to date and they particularly like Prague; but also the building of the Palace of Culture where the deliberations have taken place enthuses them. And many of those who are here for the first time say that they could not imagine all this, because they have heard many slanders against Czechoslovakia, about the lack of freedom. And here I immediately come to the question of how they evaluate the life of our Churches. They evaluate it in a clearly positive manner on the basis of all that they have experienced here. They made use of the chapel that has been set up right in the Palace of Culture for the needs of the participants in the assembly. An opportunity for prayer was provided during the morning and evening devotions. Apart from that, every person could also devote himself freely to visiting the churches in Prague. On Sunday there were, first, the ecumenical divine services, and then many of the participants visited other churches and were even able to go to Slovakia, above all to Bratislava. Everything is convincing them that the slanderous talk about the oppression reigning here cannot have any foundation. They have grasped that such slanders are being intentionally disseminated, with the aim of harming our movement and the church policy of socialist Czechoslovakia.

Jaskova: Thank you for the interview.

CSO: 2400/519

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION, CARE IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jun 85 p 1

[Article by Vaclav Vacok, deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, chairman of the Slovak Commission for Scientific and Investment Development: "The Environment"]

[Excerpts] The protection and creation of the environment is taking on such significance at present that, together with safeguarding of peace, with feeding the populace and maintaining its health, with raw materials and energy, it is among the most significant universal tasks of mankind.

In Czechoslovakia, more decisive steps with respect to care for protection of the environment were taken following the 16th Congress of the CPCZ. The change took place particularly with respect to the approach taken regarding the solution of this set of problems, which began to be understood as a component of our national economic goals and plans. These efforts continued through the next period. In conjunction with the resolutions adopted by the 16th Congress of the CPCZ, a Compendium of Concepts Regarding Care for the Environment for the Period of the 7th Five-Year Plan With the Outlook Through the Year 2000 was worked out. The basic goal involved the following task: even in the face of the further dynamic development of production forces, the status of the environment should not be made worse in comparison to 1980 and conditions for improving it should be gradually created, particularly in the most threatened regions of Slovakia.

Now, as the 7th Five-Year Plan draws to its close, we can say that we are successful in fulfilling this goal. We have attained considerable successes in the housing environment. During the last 15 years, Slovakia recorded an increase of 625,000 modern apartments. Thanks to this increase, more than three-fourths of our citizens are living in apartments built after liberation. The dwelling area per inhabitant has increased; new apartments have a higher technical standard, etc. However, the results could be still better were it not for falling behind with respect to comprehensive civic facilities, in the creation of parks, green spaces, children's playgrounds, sports and recreational facilities. Unfortunately, the environment is also frequently disrupted by the undisciplined nature of the citizens, by neglecting cleanliness in housing and public areas.

We have registered many positive results in improving the work environment. Much has improved in newly erected and reconstructed factories and nonproduction facilities. For the present, the situation with respect to lowering risks at the workplace, overall hygienic conditions and esthetic conditions of the work environment in older facilities, is less satisfying. Considerable efforts were also expended to improve the cultural-social environment by building cultural, sports and recreational facilities. On the other hand, even in this area we must more decisively apply all-societal interests and viewpoints, we must conduct an uncompromising fight against the lack of discipline and against violation of regulations--particularly where the erection of individual weekend huts or weekend hut settlements is concerned.

The most serious all-societal tasks involving care for the environment, however, continue to include protection of the air, water, land and forest facilities, upon which the largest amount of social expenditure and decisive ecological provisions are concentrated. Here there are the most and the most serious problems. The frequent accidents which contaminate streams and rivers are most alarming. The effectivity of controls and prosecutions in this area must, therefore, be substantially increased. The establishment of water purification facilities has happily increased recently. In the period 1971 through 1984, some 245 such facilities were established in Slovakia and thanks to them it was possible to maintain and sometimes even slightly improve the cleanliness of some waters, even given the considerable development of cities. In protecting the air in Slovakia, it was possible to halt the growth in the amount of air pollution in recent years. Happily, it has been possible to lower the amount of air pollution in specifically followed regions, such as Bratislava, the lower part of the Orava, the upper part of Nitra, Kosice, Jelsava and other localities. However, solutions of this problem remain a very demanding and complicated task which we must keep our eye on.

Positive results have been attained in protecting the soil, particularly as a result of more stringent conditions for its utilization for nonagricultural purposes and land reclamation activities. The amount of land used for investment construction and for extractive activities has declined significantly; on the other hand, density of construction continues to be poorly utilized, as is its "verticality" and required land reclamation is not being realized to the desirable extent or quality. An extraordinarily demanding and responsible activity devolves upon us with respect to maintaining discipline and the correct application of industrial fertilizers and pesticides which, if used in excess or unsuitably, not only are detrimental to the soil but also cause damage in the water system, the fauna and flora and could also be transmitted to foodstuffs. An important task is the further elimination and utilization of solid wastes as a secondary source for raw materials. Particularly the sorting and utilization of municipal waste products and the creation of managed dumps is lagging. The national committees have demanding tasks to perform here and the disciplined nature of the populace is also inescapable.

The accumulated problems cannot be solved without significant investments. Thus, it is anticipated that during the years of the 8th Five-Year Plan Slovakia will expend up to 7 billion korunas to begin construction of almost 50 wastewater processing plants, 10 facilities for capturing emissions and 6

facilities designed to eliminate waste products. The timely and high-quality investment and planning preparations, as well as the delivery assurance for these facilities will be personally demanding. This will require all organs, ministries, production economic units, enterprises, but also national committees to not only be more inventive and active but to adopt an industrial comprehensive approach toward solving any arising problems. Simultaneously, better utilization of noninvestment methods of protection is required. The improvement and beautification of areas surrounding dwelling houses, forming a better environment for recreation, the mutual coexistence of citizens and the deepening of the socialist way of life should remain at the forefront of attention.

5911

CSO: 2400/468

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OBZINA DISCUSSES ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 10 Jul 85 p 9

[Article: "Czechoslovakia Cleans Environment with Investments in Billions"]

[Text] "We may be the only country which has a fiscal management plan in the area of environmental protection extending to the year 2000. We are investing 17.5 billion korunas (roughly 16 billion marks) in environmental protection during the years 1986-1990 and altogether 80 billion korunas (about 73 billion marks) during the next decade."

Deputy Prime Minister Jaromir Obzina, chairman of the state commission for science and technology and leader of the Czechoslovakian delegation at Helsinki's Air Protection Conference, assures us that his government, at least, is doing its best to clean up Europe's air.

Assurances are needed, too, because Czechoslovakia may very well be the country which has suffered the most from acid rain in the entire world. Situated in the geographic center of Europe, the country annually receives about 3 million tons of sulfur dioxide fallout, which is estimated to be Europe's largest, not counting the Soviet Union.

More than half the sulfur dioxide that falls on Czechoslovakia is of foreign origin, so the Prague government's interest in international cooperation on protection is great. At the Finlandia House on Tuesday, Czechoslovakia did not refuse--the way Poland did--to sign a protocol which aims at reducing sulfur emissions by 30 percent.

"Misinformation in West"

Obzina admits that acidification has damaged Czechoslovakia's waters, forests, fields and historical monuments. Yet he does not assume as anxious an attitude toward his country's environmental problems as one might suppose on the basis of information published in the West.

The deputy prime minister disputes data released in the West according to which the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences had forecast the death of as much as 45-60 percent of the country's forests by the year 2000. "Our forests are still growing faster than we can chop them down, and the productivity of

Czechoslovakian grainfields is 3.5 times greater than in the prewar period," says Obzina, offsetting the claims made in Western tabloids.

#### Relief Through Nuclear Power

Up until now, Czechoslovakia's energy production has been based primarily on the burning of coal, which releases abundant sulfur pollutants, but the intention is to correct this matter by increasing nuclear power, among other things. Four new nuclear power plants, which will raise nuclear power's share from the current 12-14 percent to 55 percent, will be completed in Czechoslovakia during the next 10 years.

Attempting to force authorities to make nature protection laws more stringent, popular movements independent of governments have sprung up in Poland and Hungary, at least, among the East European countries. Obzina concedes that similar activity has also gotten under way in Czechoslovakia.

The deputy prime minister has not familiarized himself, however, with the demands of these pressure groups and "individuals." So he was unable to say whether public opinion in Czechoslovakia gives enough support to the demands of these groups for it to have an impact on the government's policy.

12327

CSO: 3617/131

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS INCREASING

Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech 22 Jun 85 p 13

[Article by Milos Turek: "Ten Thousand Lives Accuse"]

[Text] The consequences of traffic accidents are far too heavy wherever insufficient permanent and systematic attention has not been devoted to safety of highway traffic. Over a period of 5 years approximately 10,000 persons will lose their lives on the highways of Czechoslovakia and 30,000 will be seriously injured. Property damage will amount to Kcs 2 billion. Perhaps these are sufficiently persuasive numbers and perhaps more warninglike in character when we find that more than 95 percent of all accidents were caused by people, be it the driver, a cyclist, or a pedestrian.

Party and state organs tasked all ministries, national committees and organizations which can change the status in any way with establishing such conditions for participants in highway traffic as to reduce crisis situations on highways to the minimum.

The human factor plays a heavy role in this. It is a matter of either ignorance of regulations, inexperience or, which is worse, lack of discipline and consideration. It is appropriate to remind all drivers--it is necessary to constantly repeat to oneself--that the technical status of the motor vehicle is a variable factor. And nevertheless this year, despite all controls, the number of traffic accidents rose by 241 over the same period of last year! In April there were 4,878 traffic accidents which resulted in the death of 37 persons, 247 serious injuries and 241 light injuries. Property damage was estimated at the scene of the accidents at Kcs 23,343,000. Of the number of accidents, 319 were caused by the influence of alcohol. And what was the main cause of all this?

The largest number of accidents, 2,363, was caused by incorrect driving practices, 933 accidents were the result of insufficient attention to driving, 809 accidents resulted from failure to yield the right of way, 784 accidents resulted from excessive speed and 400 were the result of failure to maintain proper distance between vehicles.

So, these facts don't exactly attest to a knowledge of regulations but rather to an overestimation of experience, to inattention, lack of discipline and



inconsideration on the part of drivers. The price which was paid for these accidents is exceedingly high. Therefore, it is appropriate that the Government Committee for the Safety of Highway Traffic of the CSR in cooperation with all participating organs and organizations is preparing a proposal of a set of measures to increase the safety of highway traffic for the 8th Five-Year Plan. However, every one of us must contribute to reducing the number of accidents. The driver as well as the pedestrian.

5911

CSO: 2400/514

14 August 1985

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## STEALING WITH IMPUNITY SUPPORTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 85 p 3

[Feuilleton by Marie Zverinova: "Who Steals More?"][Excerpt] It was stuffy in the room, not only due to insufficient ventilation but also because of the problem the trade unionists were dealing with.

The chairman took the floor: "We are here today to decide whether we will provide a social guarantee for Karel who has been accused of stealing. This is a serious charge and we should examine whether Karel has a right to such a guarantee and our confidence. I personally have known him for years, I served as his sponsor. He is a hard, selfless worker. In short, Karel, why don't you tell us how it all came about."

"When you ask me straight out whether I had stolen, I must honestly answer yes. Thus, there is not much to explain. It is called a basis of fact and that has been proven. But you know how it is. Six months ago, we moved to a new apartment in the settlement. We take walks with the children in the woods surrounding the recently-completed buildings which had not yet received approval of final completion. So, as we ambled around, I decided to find out what so many people moving around like a bunch of lost sheep with eyes to the ground were up to. It did not take me long to get it. There was enough construction material lying around for not one but several cottages in the country. There were sacks of plaster, hardened cement, rolls of linoleum and floor covering, lime, plumbing material, pipes; I even found a pretty nice door. There were also hundreds of door knobs, screws and nails, sololith boards. There was more of this stuff and in better selection than at most construction sites.

And then one day my toilet sprang a leak. The plumber told me he did not have the necessary material to fix it, that there has been a shortage of it for a year. I asked him to explain what was wrong with the thing. He was very helpful and said that if I could provide a certain piece of pipe, he would return and do the job.

So, the following Saturday I joined the lost sheep and criss-crossed the area with a piece of paper on which I had sketched what I was looking for. Where I had seen pipes a week before, there were none. The construction people had cleaned up the place by running a bulldozer over it. After spending all afternoon meandering around, I finally found what I was looking for.

Next thing I found was that our apartment windows lacked insulation. This item was so plentiful outside that I brought back enough for the whole building. One clever man on the second floor fixed it for all of us. It took him two weeks. Next I found missing screws for the windows and covers for furniture drawers. To put it simply, every time something went wrong, I knew that I would find the answer on the grounds behind the building. The supply did go down as the bulldozer extended its operations.

Then one day when I was carrying back a piece of floor covering which I needed for a spot in the living room where my son had spilled some glue, one of the neighbors saw me and simply reported it. When they added it all up it came to several thousand. That's about it. I knew I had been seen but I had to have that bit of flooring because the following day that area was to be worked over by the bulldozer." Karel finished his confession with head bowed.

There was silence in the room until Boucek asked to speak. He was the oldest and his word counted in the collective. "Comrades, I did not have much education, nor am I an expert on the penal code. Karel will get what's coming to him. That's the way it is and no one must be allowed to steal. But, tell me, who will punish those who had left all those materials out there? They are really the ones who stole from all of us as we sit here, to a much greater degree. In a way, we have all paid for that construction job through our labor. So, I think we have the right to say what we think. Such things should not happen. However, as to our vouching for Karel, I think we should." Many raised arms provided support for his words.

9496

CSO: 2400/361

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CRIMINALITY IN CSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Simple theft and burglary are the most wide-spread crimes against property and represent about 60 percent of the total crime rate in the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR]. In more than 100,000 such cases in 1984, the perpetrators caused damage amounting to over Kcs 184 million.

At the same time, it was last year that, in comparison with 1980, most of such cases, i.e., 67 percent were successfully prosecuted. A good portion of the stolen property was recovered by the police and returned to the victims.

At a press conference, criminologists noted the negative effects of excessive alcohol consumption on the crime rate. Major Jaroslav Vojtisek, chief of the common crime department of the CSR Public Security Crime Bureau, stated: "This fact is most disturbing in crimes of violence and crimes against morality. Of 147 murders in the CSR last year, 42 percent were committed under the influence of alcohol. High alcohol blood count was also found in more than half of the cases of rape. Consequently, in the future we will intensify preventive and control measures to ensure adherence to regulations on the sale of alcoholic beverages in stores, restaurants and other catering establishments."

The most rampant crime against morality is still parasitism. Almost 5,800 people were investigated for this punishable act in 1984. There is no doubt that investigation and detention of such perpetrators could be greatly accelerated by responsible managers in industrial and agricultural enterprises, who are still failing to report absenteeism and breaches in labor discipline promptly.

9496

CSO: 2400/361

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

UN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE--The world conference on the results of the UN Decade for Women opened in Bairobi, the capital of Kenya today. We asked the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Marie Kabrhelova, chairwoman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union, to give us her assessment of the 1st day of this conference: /Kabrhelova/ Today's opening of the world conference at the close of the UN Decade for Women has made a profound impression on our delegation and in particular the speech of the UN secretary general as well as messages of greetings from the highest representatives of individual states. The content of Comrade Husak's message has been received with great interest. The fact that in our society the enduring deepening of the equal position of women are a part and parcel of our policy directions and that positive results have been achieved in this endeavor during past years is in particular appreciated. As has emerged from the 1st day of the proceedings, the conference is beginning its work in a situation in which certain Western countries want to divert the attention of the proceedings from principal issues and in particular from the difficult social position of women in the capitalist society. The anti-imperialist trends in the women's movement are, however, so strong, and I find this here at every step, that there is no doubt that the conference will achieve its objectives and will become an important forum where the voice of all progressive women the world over for social justice, for peace and disarmament will ring out. /Excerpts/ /Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 15 Jul 85/

LUCAN MEETS HUNGARIAN MEDIA OFFICIAL--Deputy Federal Premier Mates Lucan received in Prague today Rezso Banyasz, chairman of the Government Information Office of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia. They spoke about comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and exchanged experiences concerning state management in the sphere of information and information media. /Text/ /Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Jul 85/

TRADE UNION DELEGATES--The delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions, headed by Viliam Kozik, secretary of the council, and the delegation of Tunisian General Federation of Labor, headed by Sadok Allouche, deputy general secretary of the federation, discussed in Prague today the possibilities of development of mutual cooperation. They briefed each other on the organizational structure of the activities and the topical tasks of the trade union centers and stressed the significance of strengthening unity of action of the international trade union movement in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and thwarting the U.S. administration's plans for the militarization of space. /Text/ /Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 18 Jul 85/

CSSR HELPS BUILD METRO--The planning commissions of Poland and Czechoslovakia have concluded an agreement on participation by Czechoslovakia in the construction of the Warsaw Metro. This agreement, covering the years 1986-1990, envisages expenditure on R4 million and primarily concerns installations and equipment for the Warsaw Metro. Czechoslovak industry will be supplying among other things 80 special borehole pumps, 208 pumps of a different type and 42 escalators. The first consignment of 26 pumps will begin work in the Warsaw Metro excavations next year. The deliveries of heavy escalators from the factory in Vitkovice will begin in 1987 and will be assembled one by one at successive Warsaw underground stations. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 16 Jul 85/]

AIR POLLUTION PROTOCOL--The third session of the Executive Committee of the UN Economic Commission for Europe ended in Helsinki today. It dealt with the implementation of the convention on air pollution over long distances across state frontiers. The Czechoslovak delegation was headed by Jaromir Obzina, deputy premier of the federal government and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific and Technical and Investment Development. The heads of delegations, ministers and heads of organs for the protection of the environment signed a protocol at the session regarding a 30 percent reduction in sulphur emissions. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 12 Jul 85 LD]

'CAMBODIA' CALLED 'KAMPUCHEA'--The CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS AGENCY announces a change in the transcription of the names Cambodia and People's Republic of Cambodia in the Czech and Slovak languages. The new name to be used instead of these terms is Kampuchea [Kampucia] and People's Republic of Kampuchea. All derivatives are also being changed, such as Kampuchean [Kampucan] or Kampucheans. The new transcription, Kampuchea, is close to the Khmer term. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 85 p 2 AU]

CSSR-SPANISH TU TALKS--The Central Council of Trade Unions delegation led by its chairman Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and the delegation of the Spanish Trade Union Confederation of Workers Commissions led by its secretary-general Marcelino Camacho, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, held talks in Prague today. The two sides briefed each other on the activities of their trade union organizations and stressed the benefits of exchanging experiences in deepening cooperation. They advocated intensification of the struggle for peace and disarmament, against the strategic plans of the United States for the militarization of space. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 11 Jul 85 LD]

JAKES RETURNS FROM POLAND--Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee returned to Prague from a working visit to Poland. He had been invited to visit by the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 11 Jul 85 LD]

AIRSPACE VIOLATION APOLOGY--Vienna/Prague--Today the CSSR authorities "preventively /vorbeugend/ apologized" in connection with yesterday's air incident at the Austrian-Czech border. Contacting the Austrian Foreign Ministry the CSSR authorities stated that the interrogation of the respective pilots has not yet been finished. Should it turn out that there actually was a border violation Prague would regret this. According to eyewitnesses one Czech pilot penetrated into Austrian airspace while pursuing a German sports plane that had lost its way. /Text/ /Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1551 GMT 23 Jul 85/

TU DELEGATION IN DUESSELDORF--A delegation of the Central Council of de Unions /CCTU/ headed by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CCTU, arrived today by air in Duesseldorf on an official visit. The Czechoslovak guests were welcomed at the airport by representatives of the German Trade Union Federation, at whose invitation the visit is taking place. Talks between the chairmen of both trade union organizations, Karel Hoffmann and Ernest Breit, and the other members of the delegations have begun. /Text/ /Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 22 Jul 85/

COMMENTARY ON U.S. POWER--A postscript at the end of our foreign news: No democracy is more peculiar than American democracy. No sooner did the president fall ill and Axel Springers' newspapers' headlines announced: "Nancy Rules America" while NEUE RUHR-ZEITUNG struck a more romantic tone: "Nancy at the Helm of the Ship." But the RHEINISHE post saw White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan at the helm. The White House spokesman said maliciously about Vice President Bush: "If we deem it appropriate we shall entrust him with representative tasks." Indeed, there is no better democracy than American democracy. President Reagan was elected by less than one-third of the electorate--and his wife Nancy by no one; yet, she rules! Likewise, the White House chief of staff was elected by nobody. Traditionally, he is nominated by the monopolies. And yet, he also rules. They all are unanimous in claiming that Vice President Bush, the only member of the triumvirate who was actually elected by that smaller-than-one-third section of the electorate, has no role to play in all this. As a result, at the time of the president's stay in hospital, the greatest capitalist superpower was ruled by his wife and to some extent by his chief of staff. The creators of the U.S. Constitution would be amazed at how peculiar their democracy has become. One could laugh at it--were it not for the knowledge that, albeit for a brief period only, the decision as to what to do with nuclear warheads, and therefore also with the fate of mankind, was in the hands of unauthorized people. /Text/ /Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1630 GMT 22 Jul 85/

SYRIAN PARTY DELEGATION RECEIVED--Josef Haman, candidate presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received today a delegation of the Syrian Ba'ath Party, headed by (Muhammad Qaffa), head of the Department of Industry of the Damascus city party committee. The meeting took place at the end of the misit of the delegation, which was acquainting itself in Czechoslovakia with the experiences of party work in some departments of industry and agriculture. /Text/ /Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 25 Jul 85/

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GOVERNMENT LEADERS' TRAINING, EXPERIENCE PROFILED

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[Article by Prof Dr Gerd Meyer, of the University of Tuebingen Institute for Political Sciences: "On the Sociology of the GDR Power Elite -- Professional Qualifications, Career Paths, 'Political Generations'"]

[Text] The situation in the GDR at the beginning (and towards the middle) of the 1980's, the pressure of problems that burden both the political leadership and the population as a whole, the question of this political system's capacity to solve its problems, as well as a series of important personnel changes that occurred after Walter Ulbricht was replaced as general secretary of the Central Committee (ZK) of the SED in 1971 are reasons enough for a closer look, 16 years after the appearance of P. Chr. Ludz' study "Parteielite im Wandel" [Transitions among the Party Elite], at the composition and the political and biographical profile, i.e. the qualifications structure and career paths, and thus at essential aspects of the change in the social structure of the power elite of the GDR. Neither a comprehensive sociological study nor an empirical analysis of the political culture of this group at the center of power is intended or possible here. Our goal is more modest: with the help of data on the political and social manifestations of the political elite in the GDR, the background and the internal differentiation of this group and the change of "political generations" between 1971-1984 will be documented, with a focus on the most important tendencies underlying this change.

I Methodology and Relevance of Sociological Background Analyses

Data on the political and social background of political elites provides useful and important, initially only descriptive information on

- social origin;
- formal qualifications;
- both individual and collective socialization experiences based on educational institutions, the historical period, the familial and the social environment;
- the occupational, political and social mobility of certain social groups or within the society as a whole, also differences in upward mobility due to social stratification: thus one can reconstruct career paths and "political



- "life chances" based on the structure and succession of changes in position, length of time in a particular position and status characteristics;
- the evolution of career patterns with certain institutional, political and social characteristics;
- hierarchy-formation and institutionalization, specialization and professionalization ("career society") in the processes of elite recruitment.

To be sure, one must be careful not to draw over-generalizing conclusions concerning individual and collective motivation and attitudes, patterns of perception and value-formation, norms and guiding images, and especially concerning contemporary political and social behavior, the political programme or even individual political actions of a person, a group or an administrative unit, solely on the basis of these descriptive data and the categorical groupings and typologies that we construct based on the data itself. If one interprets these data, they should be regarded, on the one hand, as the result of a systematically directed cadre policy; on the other hand, care should be taken also with regard to the systems of bureaucratic socialism to avoid interpretations that are often colored in a functionalist way and which depict certain results of a policy of cooption or more generally of the recruitment of elites retrospectively as a necessary consequence of rational planning or of certain political and social developments.

Integrated analytical approaches and complex demonstration models are needed for an analysis of the individual and socio-psychological characteristics of political leadership, which act as historical-biographical and socio-cultural determinants of the politics for which the leadership is responsible. These approaches and models should link structural, situational and personnel factors and should be based on quantitative and qualitative data. Only within the framework of such complex attempts at explaining the actions of political leaders and the way in which political steering processes function in the centers and apparatus of the political system can statements concerning the political and social background of a political elite achieve precise analytical relevance. They form the basis for and supplement theoretical and empirical statements regarding the probability of the development and existence of certain qualifications and perceptual patterns, of political attitudes and behavioral patterns, in particular to the extent that these result from adult socialization and years-long practical experience in certain apparatus. However, these "subjective factors" should be viewed as only one part of the actual, varied, activated and determining capacity for action on the part of individuals or groups. Furthermore, sociological background analyses can shed some initial light on aspects of the internal distribution of power, the political and social homogeneity and cohesion, the common or -- at least potentially -- diverging interests, the potential for conflict due to socialization factors, and the problem-solving capacity of a political elite. Factors relating to the internal differentiation of power elites, and also their relationship to so-called subject area or sectoral elites, the more or less marked development of "bureaucratic pluralism" in the representation of areas of function and groups (group interests) and in the presumable influence upon decision-making processes are becoming more and more important for an analysis of the political process within bureaucratic socialist systems. And finally, such personnel-oriented background analyses make it possible -- especially in the possible connection between static/structural and dynamic/process-oriented approaches -- to make statements or deduce hypotheses concerning the relationship between social structure and social change on the

one hand, and determinants, formal and informal selection criteria, and results of the process of elite recruitment on the other. Such studies should be based on a critical analysis of the interests structure and ruling power structure within the political system, its development and the developmental perspectives of a society as a whole.

This study focuses on the time period from 1971 to 1984; emphasis is placed on a cross-sectional analysis of the year 1981 (10th Party Congress of the SED). For the time period 1971-81, i.e. the years between Erich Honecker's accession to the office of general secretary of the Central Committee (ZK) of the SED (after Ulbricht was relieved of the office during the 8th Party Congress) and the 10th Party Congress in April 1981, data was gathered especially on the nucleus of political leadership. The days selected for 1981 are April 17 (conclusion of 10th Party Congress; special importance for data on the Central Committee), at times also June 30 for the nucleus of political leadership (after the death of A. Norden and the election of H.-J. Boehme as first secretary of the SED district organization in Halle). As far as possible, data concerning the nucleus of political leadership was carried forward until the date of completion of the manuscript (May 30, 1984). Therefore, it was still possible to take into consideration the personnel changes which had just been made during the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED on May 24, 1984. The author has elsewhere published a survey of all personnel changes within the nucleus of political leadership 1971-1984; the present study supplements and corrects this survey in several points.<sup>1</sup> It has been possible to gather biographical data especially with reference to the nucleus of political leadership with a very high degree of reliability and completeness, from the known sources.<sup>2</sup> Since these sources form the basis for all data surveys, they are not listed again individually at the end of each table. Methods used for calculations are explained in detail in Footnote<sup>3</sup>

## II Composition and Delimitation of the Political Elite in the GDR

In an analysis of political systems, those persons are usually counted as members of the political elite who exercise considerable and lasting influence on the political and administrative decision-making process within a society. In the GDR, the political decision-making process takes place largely within the large party and state bureaucracies (including the state planning agencies and the economic administration), also in a few politically important mass organizations, such as the FDGB and the FDJ, and -- to a much less significant extent -- in the other four parties. In the centralized political system of the GDR, in order to be able to have considerable and lasting influence on the political decision-making process relevant to society as a whole, it is usually necessary that one hold a formally secured and legitimate position within the governing bodies of the party, the state and the important mass organizations, i.e. that the ability to exercise power be based on one's position.

How can this group of people now be delineated more precisely? On the one hand, information can be obtained from the rankings that are established in the GDR itself, concerning decision-making bodies and persons, their rank in order of political importance and public regard; on the other hand, the empirical analyses and informed estimates of western specialists should also be taken into consideration. I have attempted elsewhere to discuss these problems of delineation in greater detail from a theoretical and methodological perspective

and to support the following definition of the power elite in the GDR.<sup>4</sup> Anyone who attempts an empirical delineation of this type must admit that his criteria are not fully precisely and operationally defined, that the borderlines are blurred at times, that the information sources used are in some ways rather limited, and that his operational definitions are plausible only when taken as a whole, but when examined in detail they are not always convincing.

Based on our knowledge of the steps in the system of nomenclature in the framework of the cadre policy of the SED<sup>5</sup> as well as our knowledge of power structures and decision-making structures in the political system of the GDR, I regard as plausible the following positional definition of the political elite or, synonymously, the power elite of the GDR, above all on the basis of membership in central bodies of political leadership (excluding personal unions or cumulative offices held; numbers in parentheses = number of members of a body or of a group; figures are given as of June 30, 1981, with some figures updated to May 30, 1984):

#### The Political Elite of the GDR

1. The members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee (17 + 8 = 25; 1984: 21 + 4 = 25)
2. The secretaries of the ZK (10; 1984:12)
3. The directors of departments in the ZK apparatus (41)
4. The members and candidate members of the ZK (156 + 57 = 213)
5. The directors of central party institutions (6)
6. The first secretaries of the district administrations (15)

#### B. State

1. The members of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers (16; 1984: 15)
2. The members of the Council of Ministers (45, including the Presidium)
3. The chairman and state secretaries of the State Planning Commission and others with leading positions in central state organizations (app. 30)
4. The members of the Council of State (26; May 30, 1984: 27)
5. Top leadership in the National People's Army (NVA), the State Security Service (SSD) and the German People's Police (if not included in B 2; military ranks; app. 25)
6. The president and the vice president of the Supreme Court; the general prosecuting attorney (3)
7. The chairmen of the district councils (15)

#### C. Mass Organizations and Other Parties

1. The chairmen or first secretaries, respectively, of the mass organization represented in the People's Chamber [Volkskammer]: (FDGB, FDJ, DFD, KB) (4)
2. The chairmen of the other four parties (CDU, DBD, LDPD, NDPD) (4)

According to this definition, therefore, the political elite in the GDR has some 460 positions. However, the number of positions is not identical with the number of persons, as many members of the political elite simultaneously hold

several positions from this list (for example, membership in the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, in the Politburo and in the ZK of the SED). The number of persons can be obtained by deducting the number of personal unions from the number of positions. Accordingly, the political elite of the GDR comprises a group of roughly 330 persons.

Within the political elite there is another, much smaller nucleus of political leadership, which consists of SED members of the top leading bodies of party and state, especially at the central level. Because of an authoritarian and oligarchical concentration of political power in the united top leadership of party and state, this nucleus of leadership decides relatively autonomously on all fundamental policy questions in the GDR (and probably also on many questions related to day-to-day politics).

The nucleus of political leadership in the SED and the GDR respectively today includes (without personal unions; figures given as of June 30, 1981, with some figures updated to May 30, 1984):

#### The Nucleus of Political Leadership in the GDR

1. The members and candidate members of the Politburo of the ZK of the SED (17 + 8 = 25; 1984: 21 + 4 = 25)
2. The secretaries of the ZK of the SED (10; 1984: 12)
3. The first secretaries of the district organizations of the SED (15)
4. The SED members of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the GDR (12; 1984: 11)
5. The chairman of the National Defense Council of the GDR
6. The chairman of the Council of State of the GDR
7. The president of the People's Chamber of the GDR

The question of whether or not the departmental directors of the ZK of the SED, or at least those directors with the most "political clout" should be included in the enumeration of those belonging to the nucleus of political leadership must remain open here. In any case, the data concerning them is not adequate for a more thorough-going investigation. Therefore, on June 30, 1981, there were 65 positions comprising the nucleus of political power (on May 30, 1984: 66), or, after subtracting the personal unions (cf. Table 1) on April 17, 1981, 45; on June 30, 1981 as well as on May 30, 1984, there were 44 persons. The most important political decision-making body in the SED and in the GDR is the Politburo of the ZK of the SED. Its 17 members (with full voting privileges) and 8 candidate members (in a non-voting, consultant capacity) are in the center of political power in the GDR (May 30, 1984: 21 members and 4 candidate members).

It is not merely "a handful of people" or the barely 4 dozen members of the nucleus of political leadership "who decide on the GDR's policies." It is rather a network of leading committees and decision-making bodies, of large apparatus with thousands of workers who, as an administration, prepare, help make, implement and legitimize these decisions. They are essentially responsible for what happens to a policy or measure that was decided in the center of power.

A decisive intermediary function between the closest leadership committees on the one hand and the most important ruling institutions and social spheres of action on the other is carried out by that group of people that we have designated as the political elite or power elite. This group of about 330 persons is not identical with, though it has generally the same contours as, the circle of members and candidate members of the ZK of the SED (total as of Feb. 2, 1984: 156 + 51 = 207). The ZK of the SED (including the nucleus of political leadership, all members of which are represented on the ZK) is an advisory and debating body without independent policy-making prerogative. As a kind of "small party parliament" between the Party Congresses, it is the highest representative body of the party, bringing together the most important representatives of the party, who are selected by the Politburo or by the Secretariat of the ZK for the honor of this prestigious distinction. The ZK is comprised of leading cadres and representatives from almost all parts of society, from the most important political institutions and social organizations.<sup>6</sup> By and large, therefore, the ZK of the SED (including the nucleus of political leadership) can with justification be called the party elite.

The following study is therefore limited to these two most important segments of the political elite in the GDR--constraints also having been imposed owing to the capacity of an individual researcher working without computer support. Both of these segments will be examined from the point of view of the following four questions:

1. What are the typical way stations passed by a member of the power elite of the GDR in the qualifying and selection processes of elite recruitment?
2. What qualifications structure is evinced by the political elite?
3. What career paths and patterns result from the succession of various career stations (spheres of activity, positions and stages within the power hierarchy)?
4. Which "political generation" exists in the power elite of the GDR, and to what extent is a younger generation of leaders replacing the "senior functionaries"?

#### Excursus: The Position Of The Security Forces Within The Political Elite

Problematical catchwords such as "military-industrial complex in the East also?", "dominance of the military, the hawks, those in favor of armament in the nations members of the Warsaw Pact?" or "militarizing of society," especially with regard to the GDR, justify a brief excursus on the position of the security forces within the power elite of the GDR.

Here the following must be mentioned from within the nucleus of political leadership as members of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the ZK of the SED who are especially responsible for or experienced in security-related matters: E. Honecker, W. Stoph, H. Hoffmann, E. Mielke and E. Krenz, the youngest full member of the Politburo, who has been ZK secretary for security since Nov. 11, 1983. Krenz took over responsibility for this area from P. Verner, long-time security expert and senior functionary, who left the Politburo and the ZK Secretariat on May 24, 1984, but who remained a member of the Council of State and chairman of the National Defense Committee of the People's Chamber. Nineteen or 8.9 percent of the members of the ZK of the SED can be described as political or militarily-operative representatives of the

area of internal and external security (11 of whom hold degrees in military science, cf. Table 4).

The survey of leading positions within the party and state which are held by representatives of the security forces (in particular the NVA without the Political Main Administration, SSD) (cf. Table 2) shows a relatively strong presence in the leadership area, especially when viewed in Western terms. It should be noted that, in part parallel to developments in the USSR, the minister for defense, H. Hoffmann (1973) and the minister for state security, E. Mielke (1976) were accepted as full members of the Politburo after E. Honecker became first (general) secretary of the SED. In addition, the NVA's presence in the ZK of the SED was increased at the 10th Party Congress of the SED in 1981, having already been increased at the previous Party Congress in 1976, (5 representatives from the security area out of 53 new ZK candidates). On the whole, the number of representatives from the area of internal and external security has steadily increased since the beginning of E. Honecker's term of office.

The fact that so many military personnel have been given positional participation in political and administrative leadership bodies and now hold membership in the political elite, its nucleus of leadership, as well as in the level in the power structure directly below the elite is, to be sure, a significant political fact. On the other hand, however, it is not possible to say much about the internal structure and the course of political decision-making within the control centers of the SED and GDR respectively. Positions and a percentage of seats do provide an opportunity to exercise influence; however, viewed in real terms, they do not yet mean that influence is automatic or successful, or that interests can be maintained effectively and with continuity. It is just as precarious to attempt to draw conclusions regarding the actual influence structure and patterns of interest observance from the results of material politics within the security area as it is to draw such conclusions from the finely-tuned interpretations of the "Kremlin astrologists," for whom there are no real counterparts in the case of the GDR. On the whole, therefore, especially for the GDR, it is well to warn against drawing hasty or over-generalized conclusions based on positional or individual, personnel-oriented analyses of its power elite.

### III Career Stages Typical Of The Power Elite

Functionaries born during and after the 1940's have usually passed through the following career stages, speaking in general and typologically simplified terms, in their political biographies on their way into the political elite:

1. Membership in the FDJ (and with the "Pioneers")  
(6-9 years: "Young Pioneers"; 10-13 years: "Thaelmann Pioneers"; after 14 years: FDJ, maximum age for members usually 25 years, exceptions made for students and functionaries, with the age limit formally abolished in 1981.) Almost everyone who wishes to pursue or is pursuing higher education at a university or technical college or a military career, or who hopes to achieve a position of political or administrative leadership within the party or the state, is at present, or was, a member of the FDJ.

## 2. Membership in other Mass Organizations

Especially:

- Society for Sport and Technology (GST; often joined when still in school and also within the framework of defense education);
- Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB; usually joined at entry into one's vocational life; includes almost all gainfully employed persons);
- Society for German-Soviet Friendship (DSF; at times joined when still in school within the framework of binational school contacts).

## 3. Membership in the SED

(or, less frequently, in other parties)

(at the earliest after the age of 18, usually before the age of 25, at the latest by age 30. Acceptance as member based on invitation or one's own initiative; in point of fact membership is ordinarily a prerequisite for acceptance into leadership positions or for being ranked as a leading cadre).

## 4. Occupational Qualifications and Activities

- Schooling and abitur (POS [polytechnical school]; then usually EOS [expanded secondary school] or apprenticeship/training as skilled worker and abitur; earlier, also ABF [general vocational school] and other avenues to acquisition of the abitur);
- higher education or technical training;
- occupational activity of many years' duration, usually at the "grass roots level," in politically relevant organizations or in a business, often linked to practical and theoretical upgrading of qualifications.

## 5. Acceptance into the Cadre Reservoir, into the Group of Newly Recruited Cadre, later into the Cadre Reserves

within the framework of the cadre policy of the SED and of the system of nomenclature.<sup>6</sup>

## 6. Achievement of Leadership Positions

- within the state apparatus, especially in the economic administration and in the planning apparatus; at times also with previous career stations in larger plants or combines; it is possible to rise to minister (even without full-time activity in the SED) or -- at the most, alternatively --
- in the large, mass organizations, particularly the FDJ, FDGB, also the DFD, KB, DSF;
- as full-time functionary within the party apparatus of the SED at district and local levels (at times also without many years' occupational activity outside of the party), usually comprehensive additional training in party schools and later at a party college, sometimes also in the USSR;
- in the areas of internal security (NVA and border troops, State Security Service, Volkspolizei) and foreign relations (especially in the diplomatic service and foreign trade), with career paths generally relatively closed;
- in the other four parties (CDU, DBD, LDPD, NDPD) and appointment to political and administrative leadership functions in the field of government (numerically relatively small percentage with clearly less political significance) as a secondary, not primary avenue into the political elite.

7. Acceptance into Positions within the Political Elite  
also frequently as candidate member or member of the ZK of the SED.
8. Acceptance into Positions within the Nucleus of Political Leadership  
especially as member or candidate member of the Politburo or Secretariat  
(usually a personal union) of the ZK of the SED.

#### IV. Qualifications Structure

Tables 3 and 4 provide an overview of the qualifications structure of the members of the ZK of the SED and of the nucleus of political leadership of the GDR according to the following categories:

- Occupational training, first qualifications according to socio-economic spheres;
- completion of courses of higher education at universities or technical colleges, percentage of the population as a whole, kind of diploma or certificate, distribution of these qualifications according to discipline.

These findings are also informative for a comparison of both segments of the political elite of the GDR (figures as of 1981).

##### 1. Occupational Training/First Qualifications

Statements that refer especially to this stage in the career path of members of the power elite of the GDR must be viewed with caution. Not only are they often imprecise (e.g. "worker," "journalist") and unclear in designating the level of qualification, but very often it is evident that an attempt is made to manipulate the statements in such a way (reporting even the briefest time spent at a particular occupation; imprecise, deceptive ideologically colored self-appraisal) that the ideologically preferred social profile thereby becomes evident: proletarian in origin and education, a broad spectrum and network of social and occupational groups, not dominated by the intelligentsia or by political functionaries, on the whole representative of GDR society.

In terms of their occupational training and of their first qualifications, approximately one-third (33.6 percent) of the members of the ZK and somewhat less than three-fifths (28.9 percent) of the leadership nucleus can be classified as industrial workers. According to these statements, the level of qualifications is generally lower for ZK members than for the leadership nucleus. It is worth noting that, according to this criterion, neither of the two segments can lay claim to a majority proletarian character.

A glance at the other socio-economic qualification areas indicates a significant percentage of tradesmen (12.7, 15.5 percent, respectively), with a possibly blurred distinction between skilled industrial workers and tradesmen in construction areas. Similarly, the percentage of technical workers in agriculture (11 of 16 for ZK members and candidate members) is also remarkable. Finally, the percentage of those who first qualified themselves as white-collar workers (26.2, 28.9 percent, respectively) is also relatively high. If one considers both the --in round numbers-- as a whole approximately equal percentage of those qualified as industrial workers and the percentage of those who have completed courses of higher education, approximately 10 percent fewer, this finding has interesting implications for an analysis of social



change in GDR society: a blurring of the division between blue and white-collar workers; growth of the service sector; increasing role of the intelligentsia as well as of academic education.

## 2. Degrees from Universities and Technical Colleges

Measured in terms of degrees especially in the tertiary sector of the educational system, the qualifications structure of the power elite of the GDR forms an important factor of its political and social potential for analysis and action,--which is indicated even if only in a formal sense. Many members of the GDR's political elite have double or even multiple qualifications. If one considers the type and number of qualifications present in this group as a whole, this is more useful as a basis for calculations than simply the number of persons, to whom one tends to attribute only one--usually the highest formal--educational qualification (or educational certificates or degrees.)

From Section I.5 of Tables 3 and 4 it is clear that just about every sixth member (17.0 and 17.8 percent, respectively) of the ZK and of the leadership nucleus describes as a first qualification completion of the course of studies at a university or technical school (usually obtained by direct study). For the ZK membership, degrees are predominantly in the social sciences, education, and journalism, i.e. with pronounced political-ideological orientation (27 of 39); the situation is similar for the nucleus of political leadership. In the case of the older generation (cf. Section V.2, Career Path A), the level of formal qualifications is probably lower in part, despite a similarity in designation.

If one considers not only the first qualifications, but also the number of the percentage, respectively, of university and technical school graduates among the membership of the ZK and of the nucleus of political leadership as well as the distribution of these degrees according to fields of study, the high percentage of those qualified in the tertiary sector of the educational system becomes evident (87.6 and 77.8 percent, respectively). All in all, the ZK membership, which on the average is younger, has better formal qualifications. A number of differences between ZK and the nucleus of political leadership can be noted in terms of the distribution of qualifications according to fields of study:

- social scientists (in the broader meaning of the term): 28.8 percent among the ZK membership as compared with 7.4 percent (3.2) + 39 percent (3.3) = 46.4 percent in the nucleus of political leadership -- degrees that could only be obtained by a younger generation, especially in courses of study established during the 1960's;
- engineers and natural scientists: 16.3 and 2.4 percent, respectively -- a qualification in technical fields which was also and especially offered to the generation growing up in the industrial nation of the GDR;
- economists and agriculturalists: 13 + 14 percent and 26.8 + 12.2 percent, respectively -- thus the economists as second largest group in the ZK, with an amazingly high percentage in the nucleus of political leadership, in which above all a great amount of understanding of economic planning is

- concentrated, acquired through university study in the GDR and enhanced by continued education during the time of practical administrative experience;
- educators (9.1 and 4.9 percent, respectively) and journalists (8.2 and 4.9 percent, respectively) compose a group of office-holders that is intended to help reproduce, by communication and ideology in the life-long processes of political socialization, the actual socialist social order that is yet to be adequately anchored in the political culture of the country.

Finally, the relatively high percentage of holders of doctoral degrees (13.6 and 15.6 percent, respectively), especially in the social sciences, and of professors among the ZK membership (10.3 percent!) is worthy of mention.

All in all, the political elite has attained a high degree of academic qualifications, a process which has been on the rise since the establishment of the GDR and which now is almost complete. Qualifications in subject areas with a markedly ideological orientation (social sciences, journalism, education) are generally preferred over subjects that teach primarily "a knowledge of technocratic control" (economics, agriculture, engineering and the natural sciences). This reflects, on the one hand, the fact that increased demands are placed on the political and administrative leadership in terms of qualifications as a result of the GDR's continued development as an industrial society with ever more complex control mechanisms. (Also, the number of representatives of the mass organizations who are members of the ZK of the SED, a figure which has risen significantly since 1976, may indicate the increasing importance of successful mass mobilization and political integration in the self-differentiating society of the GDR.) On the other hand, however, the large percentage of cooptation of especially the younger social scientists points up the fact that leadership is presumably increasing its demand for qualifications of this type for the management and the ideological and educational securing of bureaucratic rule in the GDR. In this can also be seen that effective consideration of such degrees as a factor in the furtherance of a career in the process of elite recruitment. In view of the growing problem of legitimacy of the political system of the GDR in years to come, qualifications of this type may play an even more important role in the selection of leadership as well as in control exercised in the centers of power.

## V Career Paths and "Political Generations"

A more differentiated picture of the political and social profile of the political elite results from our attempt in the following section at an empirical description of career paths and "political generations." (Cf. Tables 5 and 6, and also Footnote 3).

### 1. The ZK of the SED

The average age of members in the two most important segments of the political elite of the GDR (cf. Table 6, A.1., B.1.), especially of members of the nucleus of political leadership, is, with c. 55 and c. 57 years, respectively, (at the time of the 10th Party Congress in 1981; in 1984 it was c. 58 and 60 years, respectively) not so high that one could describe it as aging or even elderly -- compared, for example, with that of the USSR --. The largest age

group (approximately two-thirds) in the ZK of the SED comprised in 1981 those aged 49 - 61 years, while the number of younger as well as of older members approximately the same, with about 16 percent for each group (Table 6, A.2). Within the nucleus of political leadership, there is only a slight age gradient of 10 years maximum in the most important subgroups (cf. Table 6, B.) corresponding to the inner hierarchy of positions. Therefore, the principle of seniority hardly applies to the rise to top offices within the nucleus of political leadership.

We obtain a similar picture if we compare the length of time as a party member for the two segments (Table 6, A.3., B.2.). Not one member of the political elite in the GDR has been a party member for less than 15 years. The full members of the SK, who at the present time (mid 1984) have been party members, on the average, for c. 40 years and the members of the Politburo with an average of 46 years of party membership, form the "top age group" in the party establishment, which should nonetheless not be viewed for this reason as a club of party veterans. Often, underlying such long periods of party membership is decades-long experience as full-time managerial cadre, as a generalist or specialist within the party and state apparatus, in large companies as well as in the military or scientific areas.

In keeping with the criteria of length of party membership--which begins at the latest at age 18, but which is not identical with the beginning of organized, active involvement in party politics--a total of seven political generations can be discerned in the ZK of the SED (Table 5, A.). The survey shows the percentage of those who have consciously experienced certain historical events at least relatively speaking, i.e. age groups of political cohorts sharing in their backgrounds certain common socialization experiences and collective historical experiences. Their lives and experiences certainly vary from individual to individual, forming varying patterns of perceptions, attitudes and behavior. As real and structural factors, these interweave in manifold ways to form individual political biographies. But even though caution should be exercised to avoid deducing personal character and attitudes simply from membership in a certain generation, it cannot be denied that such commonality is nonetheless an important factor. This commonality results above all from the often far-reaching, externally-caused, structural and situational determination of the possible scope of the individual's political and social development, as well as from his fluctuating chances for political influence which depend on changing systems, often with decisive implications for the individual. To be sure, it is hardly possible to draw detailed conclusions, based on material gathered in this study, about the effects of such commonality as being the witnesses to, or victims or shapers of, a particular historical epoch.

If one takes a look at the percentage of cogenerationists in the ZK of the SED, it is obvious that

- almost every 6th member of the ZK of 1981 became a member of the KPD prior to 1945, and almost every 10th experienced the KPD of the Weimar Republic and the fascist period;
- a good two-fifths of the ZK members and candidate members were party members in the "founding phase" of the SED 1945-47;
- during the founding, consolidation and crisis years of the GDR 1948-1961, another two-fifths joined the SED (with a clear relative decline 1956-1961);

- from construction of the Berlin Wall until Ulbricht's replacement, only c. 5 percent of members and candidate members of the ZK were accepted into the SED.

All in all, it can be maintained (although with some variations between the "senior functionaries" and those who grew up in the Soviet Occupation Zone [SBZ] or the GDR) that the historical background placed those in the political elite -- characterized by a large degree of ideological homogeneity and membership in the same organizations -- in shared situations of continuity and upheaval in the KPD and the SED. They experienced situations ranging from marginality and suppression to the position of a transformational and power elite returning and patronized from elsewhere (or should one say imported?) in the early post-war years, then as leading cadres of the SED, who established socialism, first as a minority tolerated by society, then as increasingly respected bearers of power, even though with limited democratic legitimacy, for more than three and one-half decades, earlier merely supplemented, today surrounded by political descendants who grew up in the SBZ or GDR, respectively, and who received there their political and occupational socialization, exclusively. Other factors which must be mentioned here include the decades-long confrontation with the Federal Republic of Germany, the German question, and the existence of a divided nation, the lack of international acceptance and discrimination that lasted for years, the isolation and the many attempts on the part of the GDR leadership to cut all ties to the FRG. Such shared experiences cannot fail to have a considerable, even if only general, impact on patterns of political opinion-shaping, on the defining of goals and on modes of behavior on the part of the political elite of the GDR. G. Gaus describes the consequences of such historical experiences, together with other factors: A traditional, propagandistic and orthodox view continues to exist of capitalism and imperialism, also an identification with the German labor movement in the awareness of its downfall and "victory," before and after 1945, respectively, and finally a kind of siege or fortress mentality which tries to compensate for a lack of self-confidence and internal and external recognition. In addition to a feeling of identification with what has been achieved, there is also an attitude of "nonetheless:" "we will not allow ourselves to be deterred by attacks and difficulties."<sup>7</sup>

## 2. The Politburo of the ZK of the SED

The following analysis aims first of all at a typological reconstruction of the career paths and career patterns of the members of the center of political power in the SED as in the GDR, i.e. the members and candidate members of the Politburo of the ZK of the SED. Within the nucleus of political leadership, they represent a group of top functionaries ("the tip of the top") [sic.] that stands out in the hierarchy of power. (The fact that 25 persons belonging to the nucleus of leadership are studied here is due to reasons of capacity.) The survey in Table 1 lists first of all the names of the persons that we have researched and shows the personnel interconnections of the members and candidate members of the Politburo with other leading organizations in the party, the state and in mass organizations and the national front. (Changes in the top leadership organizations of the SED 1971-1984 are documented by G. Meyer, Cologne 1984, Tables 1,2, see also Footnote 1). Table 7 gives the most important findings concerning the career paths of the members and

candidate members of the Politburo of the ZK of the SED (as of May 30 or June 30, 1984).

The members of the nucleus of political leadership (and in particular of the Politburo) look back usually on long, frequently decades-long, political experience as leading cadres of the SED or as party functionaries of the KPD (on the following, cf. Table 6, B.2, Table 7). Today (as of May 30, 1984) they have been, on the average, members of the ZK for two decades, the full members of the Politburo for more than a quarter century, compared with an average of 15 years for the first secretaries of the district organizations. The full members of the Politburo (not including those named in 1984) have belonged to this group for about 18 years. While they got by with an average candidacy period of c. 4 years, this phase now lasts almost 14 years for candidates that held this status at the time of the 8th plenary session of the ZK of the SED on May 24, 1984; (two have been candidates in the Politburo for more than 20, and 3 others for more than 10, years.) At the end of May 1984, this justified the conclusion that the status of "candidate member of the Politburo" is certainly not intended to be a transitional phase for some positions or persons. This was true, for example, for the only two women in the entire nucleus of political leadership (I. Lange, M. Mueller), who are permitted to take their place at the lower end of the hierarchy of power of this de facto highest party organization, or for certain economic experts (as, for example, Jarowsky, G. Kleiber, G. Schuerer). After the naming of the two economics experts from the time of the "New Economic System," W. Jarowsky and G. Kleiber, as full members of the Politburo on May 24, 1984, this interpretation must be partially corrected: the career chances and the status of economic specialists now appear to be approximately equal to those of the other members. Their "promotion" into the Politburo under Honecker must most likely be interpreted as a confirmation of the competence and loyalty of this group of persons.

Experience in the regional work of the party, especially in the district councils of the SED, is often also important for rising to the Politburo. One member of the Politburo (K. Naumann, Berlin) and one candidate member (W. Walde, Cottbus) have been first secretaries of district councils since 1971 and 1969, respectively, and both have been members of the Politburo since 1976 (K. Naumann was also named ZK secretary on May 24, 1984). Of the 21 full members of the Politburo as of May 5, 1984, only 7, 4 of whom were candidates, had never been active in a district or regional organization of the SED (E. Honecker, K. Hager, H. Hoffmann, E. Mielke, E. Krenz, G. Mittag, W. Stoph, I. Lange, G. Schuerer). All of the other 14 full members have at least 3 years experience in party work at the district level, with the average being c. 8 years, and with 6 members having 11-17 years experience. It is noteworthy that 7 of the district councils have never had a first or second secretary named to the Politburo (Gera, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Magdeburg, Schwerin, Leipzig, Potsdam, Suhl). On the other hand, Berlin (6 times), Cottbus and Halle (3 each), Rostock (twice), as well as Dresden, Erfurt, Frankfurt/Oder and Neubrandenburg (only M. Mueller) have proven to be relatively effective stepping-stones leading to a top position in the power structure of the SED. The districts most frequently mentioned here are represented in the Politburo in part directly, and in part by former first secretaries of long standing. K. Naumann was able to represent with Berlin the capital and the large industrial districts, while W. Walde with Cottbus could directly represent the smaller districts. Otherwise it is not possible to draw any far-reaching conclusions

from this list of preferred districts, since cooptation into the Politburo also depends at least as much on the individual involved.

Of secondary importance for ascending to the nucleus of political leadership of the GDR are: "simple," membership, though at times of long standing, in the Council of State and functions in the People's Chamber (VK) (except as president of the VK) or in the Presidium of the National Front.

The following characteristics were considered for the typological reconstruction of the career paths of members and candidate members of the Politburo:

- age;
- general and occupational education
- activities in the party, state, mass organizations and the mass media prior to assuming positions within the political elite;
- frequency with which positions were changed in these areas of activity;
- present area of activity, including offices cumulatively held.

Only those stations and activities that lasted for more than 2 years were taken into consideration.

All in all, four types of career patterns can be distinguished in the case of these 25 persons from the nucleus of political leadership in the GDR. Because of the typological reduction of individual features and the unconsidered relation of qualitatively and quantitatively heterogeneous elements, these categories do not appear empirically as "pure types" when individual persons are assigned to them. The following types can be identified: Career Path A = "senior functionaries," and three other types of the following generation(s) of leadership: Career Path B with focus on the party; Career Path C with focus on the party and on the mass organizations and mass media; Career Path D with focus on the economy (cf. Table 7).

#### Career Path A: "Senior Functionaries" (9)

In this study, nine full members of the Politburo are classified as "senior functionaries:" E. Honecker, H. Axen, K. Hager, H. Hoffmann, E. Mielke, E. Mueckenberger, A. Neumann, H. Sindermann, W. Stoph (until May 24, 1984 also P. Verner, who then left the Politburo and the ZK Secretariat.)

Most of the senior functionaries were born in the first decade of this century (average age as of 1984: 71.4 years) and received their political socialization during the Weimar Republic. They have in common with each other the fact that as young people they were usually active in the communist youth organization (KJV) of the KPD, later becoming members of the KPD. During the years of fascism many of them belonged actively to the resistance movement, were sent to prison or to the concentration camps, fought against fascism in Spain, or emigrated to the Soviet Union or to the West. Compared with the educational level of the following generation of leadership, they have a rather low level of formal education. In large part they were active in the trades, and none of the senior functionaries had an academic degree prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. After the collapse of the Third Reich they returned to Germany, i.e. to the Soviet Occupation Zone to take part in the erection of the new people's democratic or socialist state, usually taking over at once key leadership functions. Most of them were well-qualified for this type of work

because they had proven themselves politically in the past and because of their previous party work. They distinguished themselves more as generalists rather than because of special subject-area expertise. Most of them were elected to the ZK of the SED between 1950 and 1954 and continued to rise steadily within the party and state apparatus. Today they function generally and politically in leadership roles in the control centers of the ruling system: in the Politburo, in the Secretariat of the ZK (previously also in the SED district organizations) as well as in the Council of Ministers, especially in the areas of economics and security.

The focus of their earlier and present activity is most frequently in the area of the party and of the FDJ (E. Honecker, H. Axen, K. Hager, E. Mueckenberger, since Nov. 24, 1983, also E. Krenz; until May 24, 1984 also P. Verner); active in the area of the state were or are especially W. Stoph and A. Neumann (Presidium of the Council of Ministers) and H. Sindermann (president of the VK); and in the security area, H. Hoffmann and E. Mielke as ministers for many years. With the exception of the latter two men and of H. Axen and K. Hager, all of the senior functionaries have often switched positions within and between the party and state apparatus. And except for the two representatives of the security area (Hoffmann 1973, Mielke 1976), all of the senior functionaries have belonged to the Politburo at least since 1971, although most of them have been members for very much longer than that.

#### Career Path B: Focus on the Party (4)

Four members of the power center of the SED belong to this group: H. Dohlus, H. Haeber (from May 24, 1985), W. Krolikowski, W. Walde. According to their average age (today 56.5 years), they comprise the second youngest group. Two of them (Dohlus, Walde) qualified themselves for a career with the party especially by attending party colleges, after having completed apprenticeships. All three [sic.] have extensive experience (minimum of 16, maximum of 27 years) in regional and/or central party work (two of them were or have been first secretaries of an SED district organization for over 10 years). All except Haeber have frequently changed their positions (more than five times) within the party apparatus and also have in common shorter periods of activity in the state apparatus, before rising to the nucleus of political leadership. Prof. H. Haeber worked from 1950-1965 and after 1973 in the ZK apparatus of the SED, finally serving as department director for Western Affairs (esp. FRG), as secretary of state with similar responsibilities (6 years), and as director of a research institute with close ties to the apparatus (2 years). Dohlus and Haeber devoted their efforts to the central, Walde his to the regional, party apparatus. W. Krolikowski has been first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1971, and is responsible for economic matters.

W. Walde, first secretary of the Cottbus district organization and Politburo candidate since 1976, and K. Naumann (first secretary of the Berlin district organization and also ZK secretary since May 24, 1984) represent the group of first secretaries of the district organizations. This subgroup in the nucleus of political leadership typically displays the following characteristics: many years of experience in regional and local party work, particularly in the local organizations or in the FDJ; usually attendance or many years study at party schools and colleges (12 of them have degrees in the social sciences; in

addition, 6 of 15 have completed college programs in professional fields). Several of them were already members of the central ZK apparatus.

#### Career Path C: Focus on the Party, Mass Organizations and the Mass Media (7)

Today, 6 members and 1 candidate belong to this group in the Politburo: W. Flefe (ZK secretary for agriculture), J. Herrmann (ZK secretary for agitation and propaganda), K. Naumann (first secretary of the Berlin district organization, since May 24, 1984 also ZK secretary), E. Krenz (ZK secretary for security, youth and sport; full member of the Politburo since 1983, previously candidate and first secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ), G. Schabowski (Editor-in-Chief of "Neues Deutschland" since 1978, candidate after 1981, full member since May 24, 1984), also H. Tisch (first chairman of the National Executive Council of the FDGB), and finally, as candidate, I. Lange (ZK secretary for women's affairs). This is the youngest group, with an average age of 54.6 years.

All have a college degree in one of the social sciences, however only one has completed a technical course of studies; all attended party colleges, two in Moscow. With the exceptions of H. Tisch and G. Schabowski, they have many years' experience (average of 11 years) in FDJ work (mostly in the central organization), which was most often the reason for their rise, at least to the level of member of an SED district organization or to the ZK. The youngest Politburo member, E. Krenz, had the "purest" career with the FDJ. Four of the 7 members of this group (Felfe, Naumann, Tisch, Lange) have more than 10 years' experience in party work at the regional and central levels, and the first three named each served at least 13 years as first secretary of a district party organization. Only Felfe and Herrmann each occupied leading positions in the state apparatus for more than five years. From her overall status, it is unlikely that Frau Lange (specialist for women's affairs for over two decades, 21 years as candidate for the Politburo) occupies a powerful position within the party leadership. The area of the mass organizations is also represented by H. Tisch. As editors-in-chief of leading newspapers, especially the ND, J. Herrmann and G. Schabowski have intensive experience in the mass media and in the agitprop area. It is likely that they owe their rise above all to their successful work in this field.

#### Career Path D: Focus on the Economy (4+1)

To this group belong 3 members (since May 24, 1984, before that date only 1) and 2 (until May 24, 1984: 4) candidates of the Politburo: G. Mittag (ZK secretary for economic matters, full member since 1966), W. Jarowsky (candidate from 1963, full member since May 24, 1984, ZK secretary for trade and supply) as well as, as members of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, G. Kleiber (candidate from 1967, full member since May 24, 1984, expert for technology) and the chairman of the State Planning Commission, G. Schuerer (candidate since 1973), both of whom are responsible for economic matters. In addition, one can include--to a certain extent as a special case--the candidate of the Politburo, M. Mueller (since 1976 director of the Friedland Plant Production Agricultural and Industrial Union, since 1963 candidate). She owes her rise, to be sure, to many years of practical experience and to a certain competence in carry out managerial functions in



agricultural production; but it is most likely that, as a "token woman" who is relatively without political influence, she is supposed to camouflage the continuation of the rule of masculine privilege within this topmost body. For this reason, she is not taken into consideration in the following general interpretation.

All 5 members of this group have completed an apprenticeship in a production or white-collar area, as well as a course of studies at a technical college (two even have their doctorates). In the SED they first worked in grass-roots organizations, but later not in general political leadership functions at the district or local level. With the exception of Mittag, all move directly from the state apparatus or from managerial capacities directly into central leadership functions in the sector of economy and planning. Only at this stage did they become members of the ZK or, in the case of two of them, ZK secretaries (Mittag since 1962, except for 1973-1976; Jarowsky since 1963). All members of this group at present participate as influential top functionaries and highly-qualified specialists in the directing of the GDR economy.

The other 7 SED members of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, who were not studied here, could also be included in this group. These are, as of May 30, 1984: W. Halbritter, E. Hoefner, H. Kuhrig/B. Lietz (since 1982), W. Rauchfuss, H. Soelle, E. Weisz. In the nucleus of political leadership they are all responsible as highly-qualified specialists for matters related to the economy, planning and finance.

## VI Career Stations: Succession, Duration and Relative Importance

The data regarding some important career stations, the manner in which these stages succeed each other, their duration and relative importance (as of May 30, 1984; Table 7) indicates the following for the various subgroups of the Politburo, as they result from the various career paths:

1. There are 2 generations in the Politburo of the SED: the first group is comprised of the senior functionaries, all of whom are full members (average age c. 72 years, party members for c. 52 years, ZK members for c. 32 years, Politburo members for c. 20 years; only 2 of the 9 had a very short period as candidates of the Politburo, not longer than the members of groups B and C); the second group is the subsequent generation, composed of those today in their mid 50's, with Types B, C and D career patterns, of whom only 12 of 16 are full members (36-37 years of party membership, 15-19 years as member of the ZK). All members and candidate members of the Politburo who belong to the subsequent generation--based on the date on which they joined the party--belong to the "political generations" IV (1945-1947) and V (1948-1955) in the ZK of the SED (cf. Table 5).
2. There are two very obvious differences among the groups in the career paths of Types B, C and D. In the groups B and D, only 2/1 respectively were ZK candidates, while in groups C 5 of 7 were candidates. The period of candidacy lasted for group B on the average 3 years longer than for groups C and D. Group A, as well as groups B and C, in which party work or party-related work predominates, show relatively shorter periods of candidacy in the Politburo (6 and 5 years, respectively), if indeed there

was any waiting period at all, while group D, with focus on the economy, usually has very long (more than 12 years) periods of candidacy, some of which have lasted to the present time. In the last case there is also a certain status gradient for the different career paths.

3. Members of the power elite whose careers were primarily devoted to party or party-related work (FDJ, editor-in-chief of the ND), (2 senior functionaries, all 4 in group B, 5 of 7 in group C, 1 in group D) clearly have a better chance at becoming full members of the Politburo than others of whom this is not true. All in all, work in the party apparatus (and in part in the FDJ, which is usually of a temporary nature) is the most important channel for climbing to the top of the political power structure in the GDR. Work in the district organizations of the SED is relatively important for rising in career paths A-C, but not, however, for D. There are no obvious differences among the 4 career paths in the importance of the stage of "department director in the Secretariat of the ZK of the SED," (though it is relatively most important for group B).

## VII Areas of Qualification and Spheres of Activity

The survey on areas of qualification and spheres of activity (Table 8) shows whether and how areas of qualifications of the members and candidates of the Politburo for acceptance into this body correspond to their present tasks and spheres of activity, defined according to political areas. This connection is "monistic" or one of strict continuity for: H. Axen, H. Dohls, W. Walde (party); H. Hoffmann, E. Mielke (security); W. Jarowinsky, G. Kleiber, M. Mueller, G. Schuerer (economy); G. Schabowski (mass media). This homogeneity contrasts with what is often a wide variety of areas of practical experience in the case of other members, especially E. Honecker, W. Felke, J. Herrmann, W. Stoph (and until May 24, 1984 P. Verner). In terms of their actual areas of responsibility they could be called "generalists," but the profile of the areas of qualification and spheres of activity in which they have experience would justify the designation of "pluralists."

In principle, all members of the Politburo, especially those on whom the survey focuses (named in column 1), carry out general political leadership functions at both central and regional levels. Beyond this, the areas of the economy, security, the mass organizations and youth, as well as agitation and propaganda, are "covered" in the greatest depth. In this way, provision is made for the "complete coverage" of the political control of GDR society, both in terms of personnel and of organizations, based on biographical qualifications and the actual distribution of responsibilities, with numerous personal unions in the united executive bodies of the party, state and mass organizations.

## VIII Conclusion

If one reviews the findings presented in this study, it is clear that great variations and internal differentiation characterize the power elite of the GDR, in terms of qualifications, age, "political generation" and corresponding experiential background, career paths and areas of qualification. With the exception of many of the senior functionaries, this is an elite with quite a

high level of formal education, usually at the college or technical college level (or the equivalent). Degrees represent, to be sure, a wide diversity of disciplines, but nonetheless the social sciences and economics tend to dominate. But even more significant for a sociology of the socio-political profile of the elite are the stages, phases and kinds of experience of the socialization process internal to the apparatus, "on the job." Their importance and quality as factors determining socialization and qualification cannot, however, be more precisely evaluated. The party (including party-related work in the FDJ, the mass media and mass organizations like the FDGB) remains, in addition to "special careers" above all in the areas of the economy, security and foreign relations, the preeminent avenue for rising into the political elite. Especially for the younger generation, which was not politically socialized during the Weimar Republic and the fascist period as members of the KPD, there is a clear difference between various career paths. A generational change is clearly taking place both in the ZK and in the nucleus of political leadership:<sup>8</sup> senior functionaries of the KPD and of the (re)construction period in the SBZ and the GDR, respectively, are becoming less important both numerically and in terms of their political significance, and are making room for others who grew up in the GDR.

It appears that this renewal in terms of personnel is being carried out smoothly, at least from what is evident to the outside, as a process of recruitment and cooptation that is being successfully controlled from above. A problem that remains, however, is the representation of women in positions of political and administrative leadership. The author has elsewhere<sup>9</sup> presented evidence that women largely have equal access to educational and occupational qualifications, even on a high level, although distribution patterns at times still continue to show the predominance of so-called "female professions." Women are also relatively well-represented in the area of lower and mid-level managerial positions in professions outside of the political-administrative area and in the relatively influence-free parliamentary representation at all levels (even though not to the extent of a parity conforming to their percentage of the population and to their educational qualifications). But at the same time, the following is true: the higher a man rises in the hierarchy of the leading political and administrative bodies, i.e. in the top levels of the central party organization and the ministries, the fewer women he will encounter. Like other women in leadership positions, both of the women in the nucleus of political leadership are either specialized in women's issues or in traditionally female concerns, and/or are politically relatively without influence. The political elite of the GDR, and in particular its nucleus of leadership, is still a male elite. At least in this regard, the GDR power elite is a political patriarchy as well.

The rising level of qualifications, the generational change which is taking place free of any friction, the relatively successful exercise and handing on of control of the bureaucracy within the context of "the formation of the developed socialist system," according to its own premises, indicate by and large that a relatively high degree of rationality and efficiency is inherent in the system of elite recruitment. Despite the external differentiation based on social and socialization factors, the power elite of the GDR is an extremely homogeneous political elite. Political and ideological conformity, coupled with the technical and instrumental ability of the leading cadres,--who are productivity-oriented, relatively self-assured and privileged in the context of the personal and collective history of GDR socialism, which has been built up

with so much effort,--have joined here, in a functional sense, to form a system-specific admixture of a transformational, constructing and modernizing elite, of a management system for the welfare state and a system for securing and preserving bureaucratic rule.

1. Gerd Meyer, "Parteielite im Wandel? Tendenzen der Kooptationspolitik im politischen Fuehrungskern der DDR seit 1971" [Party Elite in Transition? Tendencies of the Politics of Cooptation in the Nucleus of Political Leadership in the GDR since 1971] In : "Lebensbedingungen in der DDR" [Living Conditions in the GDR]. Edition DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV Cologne 1984 pp. 13-22.

Corrections and supplemental information for Tables 1 and 2:

- a) in Table 1, p. 15, columns 1 and 2:
    - Lamberz, Werner 1970-1978 (deceased), not -1981
    - Verner, Paul 1958-1984, not -1984 (deceased)
    - Halbritter, Walter 1967-1973, not -1973 (deceased)
  - b) in Table 2, p. 18, column 1:

Haeber, Herbert, Relations with the West, especially FRG, not Hacher.

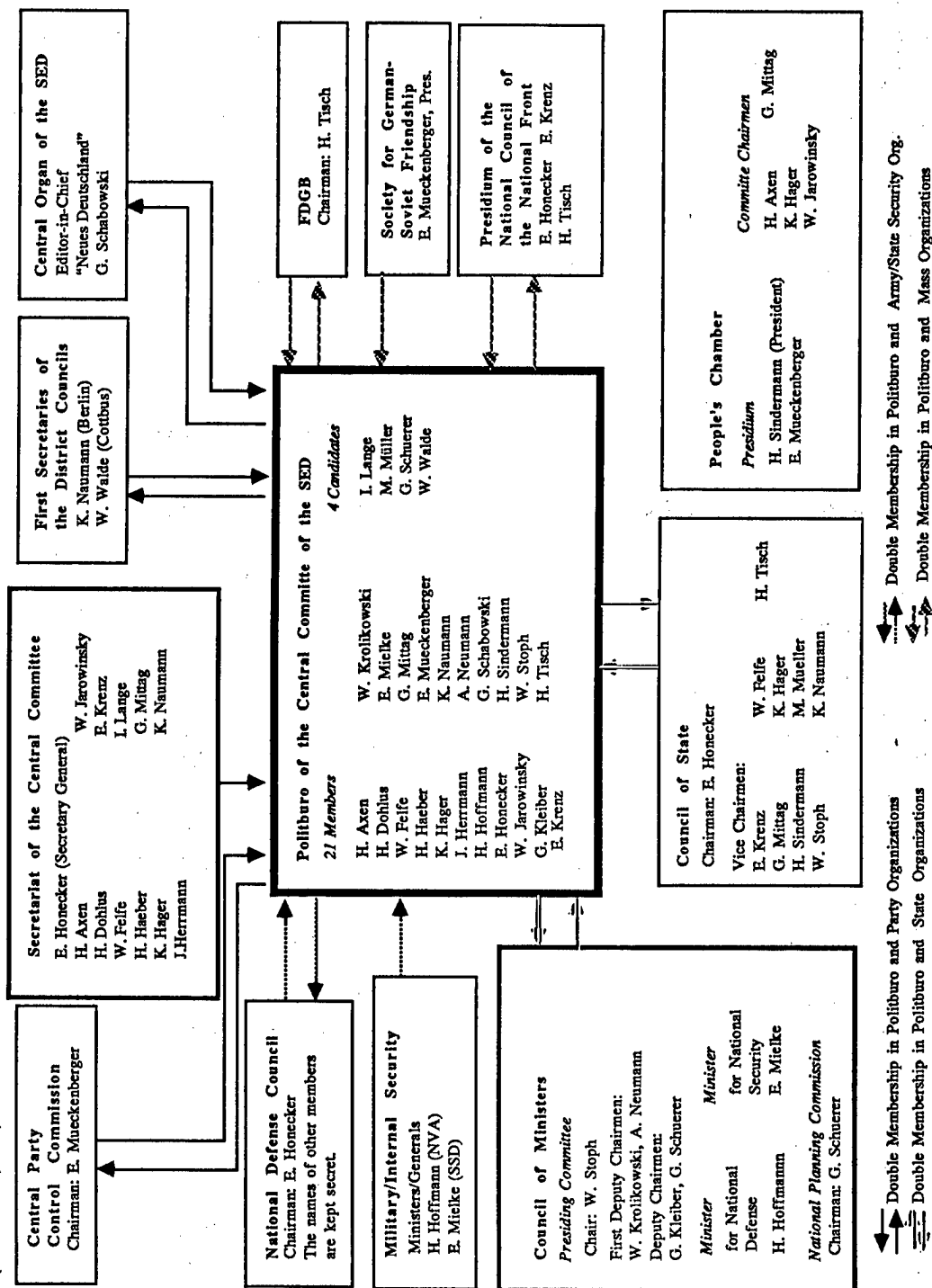
Tables pertain to data as of May 30, 1984.
2. Sources for biographical data are: Guenther Buch, "Namen und Daten wichtiger Personen der DDR," Bonn, 1982; "Informationen" of the Federal Ministry for Intra-German Relations, Bonn, including the irregularly appearing enclosure: "Staats- und Parteiapparat der DDR. Personelle Besetzung" [State and Party Apparatus in the GDR: Staff Appointments]; "Handbuch der Volkskammer der DDR, Berlin (GDR) 1950 ff.; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Organ of the Central Committee of the SED, Berlin (GDR); Minutes of the SED Party Congresses 1971, 1976, 1981. These sources are not listed individually at the end of the tables. -- I am indebted to Karl-Anton Maucher, Kirsten Rohmeis-Schwegler and Tatjana Geddert for the collection, preparation and partial interpretation of the data. This study would not have been possible without their assistance.
3. Explanations of the way in which data was evaluated and of the methods used for calculations:
    - a) Average age: calculated according to the mathematical average of full years as of May 30, 1984.
    - b) Average time as member of a group or of a committee: based on the time period between year in which membership began (in most cases only the year in which membership began was given) until 1984; in those cases for which the exact date on which membership began was available, only years completed as a member were counted (as of May 30, 1984).
    - c) For all averages, the figure behind the decimal point indicates 1/10 year.
    - d) Over-all figures: no date of entry into the party was available for two persons belonging to the nucleus of political leadership. Therefore, for the calculation of the average duration of party membership of the nucleus of political leadership N=42.

For the calculation of the average duration of membership of the nucleus of political leadership in the Central Committee of the SED N=43, since Ernst Hoefner, minister of finance and member of the

presiding committee of the Council of Ministers, is not a member of the Central Committee of the SED.

4. Cf. Gerd Meyer, "Buerokratischer Sozialismus," Stuttgart 1977, pp 135-149; *ibid.*: "Die politische Elite der DDR" in H.-G. Wehling (ed.), DDR (Kohlhammer Taschenbuecher Buerger im Staat, 1064) Stuttgart 1983, pp 92-99.
5. Cf. Gert-Joachim Glaessner, "Herrschaft durch Kader. Leitung der Gesellschaft und Kaderpolitik in der DDR" [Rule via Cadre: Directing Society and Cadre Policy in the GDR], Opladen 1977; Gero Neugebauer, "Partei und Staatsapparat in der DDR" [Party and State Apparatus in the GDR], Opladen 1978.
6. For more detailed information on the function and composition of the ZK cf. my article: "Die politische Elite der DDR," *op. cit.*
7. Guenter Gaus, "Wo Deutschland liegt. Eine Ortsbestimmung" [Where Germany Lies: A Designation of Place]. Hamburg 1983, pp 104-155.
8. Cf. my detailed analysis of this topic: Cologne 1984, *op cit.*
9. Gerd Meyer, "Das Politische System der DDR. Ein Arbeitsbuch," Frankfurt am Main 1984, p. 44 (Partial Volume 4 in: J. Kuehnert et al., eds., "Dimensionen der Politik," Vol. II.

**Table 1:**  
**Personnel Interconnections of the Politburo of the ZK of the SED with Organizations in Party, State and Society**  
 (as of June 30, 1984)



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**Table 2: Security Personnel in political-administrative Leadership Positions  
(as of April 17, 1981)**

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**A. SED**

Full members	2
Candidates	0
Total	2

**2. Secretariat of the ZK of the SED** 0

**3. Central Committee of the SED**

Full members	8
Candidates	6
Total	14

**3. Department Directors of the ZK:**

(one each for »Questions of Security« as well as »Socialist Defense Education and Military Propaganda«)

**B. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (with rank of Minister or Deputy Minister)**

**1. Total** 3 (of 46 persons)

**2. Ministries**

Ministry of Foreign Trade:	1 (Deputy Minister)
Ministry of Internal Affairs:	7 (Minister, 1. Deputy Minister, all Deputies)
Ministry of National Defense:	9 (Minister, all 8 Deputy Ministers)
Ministry of State Security	4 (Minister, all 3 Deputy Ministers)
Ministry of Construction	1 (Deputy Minister)
Ministry of Transportation	1 (Deputy Minister and Director General of Interflug)

**3. State Planning Commission** 1 (1 of 9 Deputies of the Chairperson)

**C. JUSTICE**

Highest Court	2 (1st Vice President, 2nd Vice President)
Office of the Attorney-General	1 (Military Attorney-General)

**Table 3: Qualifications Structure of the Central Committee of the SED**

(as of April 17, 1981)

I. OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING/ INITIAL QUALIFICATION <sup>1</sup>		in %	II..DEGREES FROM UNIVERSITIES <sup>1</sup> AND TECHNICAL COLLEGES		in %
<b>1. Industrial Worker</b>			<b>1. Portion of graduates from universities and colleges of the total number of members and candidates of the ZK (156+57=213)</b>		
Total	77	33.6	178	83.6	
a) unskilled workers	26				
b) skilled workers	51				
of which are					
- metal workers					
industrial	36				
- mining	4				
- construction	3				
- other	8				
<b>2. White-Collar Workers</b>			<b>2. Distribution of qualifications according to disciplines</b>		
Total	60	26.2			
of which are					
a) business clerks	24		a) <i>Social Sciences</i>		
b) technical workers/ technicians	19		Total	60	28.8
c) civil servants	7		of which are:		
d) others, no details	10		graduate social scientists	42	
			grad. political scientists	6	
			degrees in philosophy	3	
			degrees in jurisprudence	7	
			degrees in law	2	
			b) <i>Natural Sciences     and Engineering</i>		
			Total	34	16.3
			of which are		
			graduate engineers	7	
			engineers	18	
			grad. engineers- economists	2	
			natural scientists	7	
			c) <i>Economics</i>		
			Total	27	13.0
			of which are		
			members with advanced management degrees	19	
			graduate economists	4	
			national economists	2	
			economists	2	
<b>3. Craftsmen</b>					
Total	29	12.7			
of which are					
a) construction craftsmen	18				
b) service craftsmen	2				
c) others	9				
<b>4. Agricultural Occupations</b>					
Total	16	7.0			
of which are					
a) "farmers"	4				
b) "skilled agricultural workers", etc.	11				
c) "agricultural technicians	1				



**Table 3: Qualifications Structure of the Central Committee of the SED**

(as of April 17, 1981)

(continued)

I. OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING/ INITIAL QUALIFICATION		in %	II. DEGREES FROM UNIVERSITIES AND TECHNICAL COLLEGES <sup>1</sup>		in %
5. Graduates from Universities and Technical Colleges			d) <i>Agricultural Sciences</i>		
Total	39	17.0	Total	29	14.0
of which are			of which are		
a) social scientists			graduates in agricultural management	10	
graduate political scientists	2		grad. agricultural economists	4	
graduates in philosophy	2		grad. agricultural engineer-economists	2	
graduates in law studies	1		agricultural engineers	4	
b) economists	6		state-certified farmers	9	
c) engineers and natural scientists	4		e) <i>Education</i>		
d) agricultural scientists	2		Total	19	9.1
e) "teachers" <sup>3</sup>	7		of which are		
f) grad. journalists	2		Teachers with graduate degrees	4	
f) "journalists" <sup>3</sup>	4		teachers of specific grades and/or specific subject areas	3	
"editors" <sup>3</sup>	4		:"teachers"	12	
g) others	5		f) <i>Military Science</i>	11	5.3
6. Others	8	3.5	g) <i>Humanities</i>	5	2.4
			h) <i>Journalism</i>		
			Total	17	8.2
			of which are		
			grad. journalists	2	
			"journalists"	10	
			"editors"	5	
			i) <i>Others</i>	6	2.9
GRAND TOTAL	229	100.0	GRAND TOTAL	208	100.0
			3. Doctor's Degrees		
			Total	29	13.6
			of which are		
			doctor of economics	12	
			doctor of agriculture	3	
			4. Professors (postdoctoral)		
			Total	22	10.3
			of which are		
			professor of economics	4	
			professor of agriculture	1	
			professor of philosophy	7	

**Remarks:**

1 Sources: a) »Neues Deutschland« (ND) of April 17, 1981 (Designations within quotation marks were used in the issue of the ND of April 17, 1981). b) Guenther Buch, »Namen und Daten wichtiger Personen in der DDR« [Names and Data of Important Persons in the GDR], 3rd edition, Berlin/Bonn, 1982.

2. »Graduate social scientists« are graduates of a course of study at the Akademie für Gesellschaftswissenschaften (Academy for Social Sciences) at the ZK of the SED. Prerequisite for admission is a different initial qualification. Therefore, graduate social scientists are not represented in the breakdown according to initial occupational training or education.

3. Most of those in the categories »teachers«, »journalists« and »editors« most likely are not graduates of schools for occupational training, which confer these qualifications today. However, the incomplete data did not permit an exact differentiation. In addition, the grouping of these occupational categories under the heading of universities and occupational colleges seemed to make sense because of their approximately comparable status.

4. Of the 229 initial qualifications according to I., 16 are counted twice. If a person had trained for or worked in several occupations prior to training or education at a university

or occupational college, their sequential succession could not be discerned from the source, so that double counts could not be avoided. The following combinations are among the 16 double counts:

- worker/business clerk ..... 6 times  
- skilled worker/technician ..... 4 times

5. The percentage of persons who had been educated at party institutions of higher learning could not be determined, because complete data was not available for all persons.

6. Of the 208 persons listed under II.2., 19 are counted twice, two were counted three times, and seven qualifications must be deducted because of continuing education in the same field. Therefore, 208 qualifications are distributed among 178 members and candidates of the ZK who have university education or higher occupational training.

Among the double qualifications are as many as 12 combinations of the party university degree "graduate social scientist".

Among the qualifications acquired by continuing education in the same field, 3 are in the area of agriculture, 3 in the area of social sciences and one in engineering.

7. For doctors and those with the post-doctoral degree »professor«, the numbers in percent relate to 156 member and 57 candidates (=213) of the ZK of the SED.

**Table 4: Qualification Structure of the Political Leadership Nucleus of the GDR**  
as of April 17, 1981

I. Occupational Training/ Initial Qualification		in %	II. Degrees from Schools, Universities and Technical Colleges <sup>1</sup>		in %
1. Industrial Workers	13	28.9	1. Primary and Secondary Education		
a) "workers"	1		a) Basic School	2	4.5
b) skilled workers	12		b) »Volksschule«	24	54.6
2. White Collar Workers	13	28.9	c) »Mittelschule«, »Realschule«, »Oberrealschule« or »Handelsschule«	8	18.2
a) civil servants	6		d) »Realgymnasium«, »Gymnasium« Abitur, ABF-Abitur	10	22.7
b) business clerks	5				
c) technical workers	1				
d) others	1				
3. Craftsmen	7	15.5	Total	44	100.0
4. Agricultural Workers	4	8.9	2. Vocational Training (non-college)	2	4.4
a) skilled workers	2		3. Education Obtained at Uni- versities and Technical Colleges		
b) "farmers"	2		Total of members of the nucleus of leadership (45) as graduates of universities and technical colleges	35	77.8
5. Degrees from Universities and Technical Colleges	8	17.8	3.2 Distribution of Qualifications According to Discipline <sup>1</sup>		
a) "teachers"	2		a) social sciences	3	7.4
b) economists	1		b) engineering sciences	1	2.4
c) "journalists"	4		e) economic sciences	11	26.8
with college education	2		d) agricultural sciences	5	12.2
without college education	2		e) education	2	4.9
d) others	1		f) military science	1	2.4
			g) journalism	2	4.9
Total	45	100.0	3.3 Training/Continuing Education in schools and institutes of higher learning of the party Diplomas from these schools	26 16	39.0
			Total (3.2 and 3.3)	41	100.0
			4. Doctor's degrees	7	15.6
			5. Professors [post-doctoral]	1	2.2

#### Remarks:

In 1, data for 44 of 45 persons is available (missing: E. Hoefner). Total (100 percent) = 44.

In 2, 3.1, 4 and 5 Total (100 percent) = 45

In 3.2 and 3.3 Total (100 percent) = 41 qualifications distributed among 35 persons.

Of the diplomas counted under II. 3.2 and 3.3, four

double and one triple counts must be deducted, so that 41 Qualifications are distributed among 35 individuals.

2 The data is based on the highest degree obtained.

3. It appears to be unlikely that E. Krenz and I. Lange only went to basic school; however, more specific data could not be obtained

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**Table 5: The ZK of the SED: Political Generation and Age Structure**

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**A. Political Generation** in percent  
 (according to time of becoming a party member; as of April 17, 1984)

<b>I.</b>	<b>Before 1918</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>.5</b>
<b>II.</b>	<b>1918 -1932</b>	<b>Weimar Republic (KPD)</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>11.7</b>
	1918 / 1919	Formative phase of the Republic/"Spartakus"	3	
	1920 -1929	"Parliamentary Republic"	10	
	1930 - 1932	From the time of the overthrow of the Mueller administration until Hitler's seizure of power	12	
<b>III.</b>	<b>1933 -1945</b>	<b>Faschism/exile of the CP leadership in Moscow</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3.3</b>
<b>IV.</b>	<b>1945 -1947</b>	<b>Founding Phase of the SED</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>40.4</b>
	1945	Reorganization work of the "Group Ulbricht"/ founding rally of the KPD on June 11, 1945	43	
	1946	"Unification Party Congress" in April 1946: merger of KPD and SPD	32	
	1947	Consolidation of the SED as unity party	11	
<b>V.</b>	<b>1948-1955</b>	<b>Change of the SED into a Cadre Party-Party-Internal Crisis of 1953</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>28.6</b>
	1948	Resolution of the first party conference: preferential worker enlistment, introduction of the rank of "candidate"	16	
	1949 - 1952	Emergence of the "party of a new type"	30	
	1953 - 1955	Stalin dies/June rebellion and party crisis (1953) policy of "the new course"	15	
<b>VI.</b>	<b>1956 -1951</b>	<b>Phase of the Party-Internal Consolidation: From the XX. Party Congress of the CPSU to the Erection of the Berlin Wall on August 13, 1961</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>10.8</b>
<b>VII.</b>	<b>1962 - 1971</b>	<b>From the VI. Party Congress of the SED 1963 ("New Economic System") to the VIII. Party Congress 1971 (Honecker succeeds Ulbricht)</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4.7</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>213</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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**Table 5: The ZK of the SED: Political Generation and Age Structure (cont'd)**

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**B. Age Structure (in age groups, as of April 17, 1981)**

	1971 VIII. Party Congress	1976 IX. Party Congress	1981 X. Party Congress
30 - 39 years	8	10	to 40 years 14
40 - 49 years	97	83	41 - 48 years 20
50 - 59 years	44	64	49 - 61 years 144
60 - 69 years	30	26	62 - 75 years 28
70 - 79 years	10	15	over 75 years 7
over 80 years	—	4	

**Sources:** 1 Ludz, Peter Chr.: "Die DDR zwischen Ost und West" [The GDR between East and West], Munich 1977  
 2 Research by the author; cf. note 3 regarding methods of calculation.

**Table 6: Age Distribution and Length of Party Membership of the Members of the ZK of the SED and the Nucleus of Political Leadership of the GDR (1981, 1984)**

**A. The ZK of the SED (as of April 17, 1981; X. Party Congress of the SED)**

**1. Average Age**

Members and Candidates of the ZK of the SED	54.9 years
Members of the ZK	56.0 years
Candidates of the ZK	49.4 years

**2. Age Groups**

Up to 40 years	14/	6.6 percent
41 to 48 years	20/	9.4 percent
49 to 61 years	144/	67.6 percent
62 to 75 years	28/	13.1 percent
over 75 years	7/	3.3 percent

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<b>Total</b>	<b>213/</b>	<b>100.0 percent</b>
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**3. Length of Party Membership**

Members and candidates of the ZK	34.2
Members of the ZK	36.7
Candidates of the ZK	27.4
Earliest date of joining the party	1913
Latest date of joining the party	1967

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**B. The Political Leadership Nucleus**

Dates of Data Acquisition  
April 17, 1981      May 30, 1984

**1. Average Age**

a) Leadership nucleus total	56.8	60.1
b) Subgroups (in these organs, persons with double membership in the Politburo are always counted)		
— Politburo as a whole	58.6	62.1
Full members	61.7	64.4
Candidates	52.0	56.3
— First secretaries of the district councils	54.2	57.3
— Presidium of the Council of Ministers	56.5	59.8

**Table 6: Age Distribution and Length of Party Membership of the Members of the ZK of the SED and the Nucleus of Political Leadership of the GDR (1981, 1984)** (continued)

**2. Length of ZK and Party Memberships (as of April 17, 1981)**

	in the ZK of the SED	in the SED or KPD and SPD	
a) <b>Leadership</b>			
<b>Nucleus Total</b>	17.1	37.7	40.7
b) <b>Subgroups</b> (each with double membership in the Politburo, cf. 1.b)			
— Politburo total	20.3	39.9	42.9
full members	23.8	43.6	45.6
candidates	13.0	32.1	36.0
— First secretaries of the SED district councils	12.4	34.6	37.8
— Presidium of the Council of Ministers	16.8	37.0	40.2

**Table 7: Career Paths in the Politburo: Levels and Time Frames**  
(Average Duration per Career Type in Years, as of May 30, 1984)

Career Path Type	Numbers of Members/Candidates	Age	SED Membership	ZK Candidacy	ZK Membership	Politburo Candidacy	Politburo Membership
A	9/0	71.4	52.0	4.5 (2)	31.7	5.9 (7)	19.9
B	3/1	56.5	38.0	7.5 (2)	18.0	6.0 (2)	4.3
C	6/1	54.6	36.4	4.2 (5)	15.0	5.0 (7)	6.6
D	3/2	56.4	36.2	4.0 (1)	18.6	12.6 (4)	6.0 <sup>2</sup>

**Remarks:**

1 In the categories "ZK Candidacy" and "Politburo Candidacy" the data relates to those persons (numbers in parentheses) who show this status in their career path. In group D, the candidacy of the candidate M. Mueller was not taken into consideration (cf. text); if she is added, the duration amounts to 14.4 years.

2 Only one of the three full members of the Politburo of this career type had this status prior to May 24, 1984 (Guenther Mittag, for 18 years). Kleiber and Jarowsinsky are full member of the politburo since May 24, 1984; they have become part of the calculation of the arithmetic mean of their stay with zero years.



Table 8: Areas of Qualification of the Members and Candidates of the Politburo of the ZK of the SED

Name	Occupation/Highest Educational Level	Gen. Functions of pol. Leadership	Agitation and Propaganda	Party Organs and Schooling	Security and Military	Economy (General)	Planning and Finance	Technology	Construction Ind. & Transportation	Trade and Supply	Agriculture	Social Policy	Mass Organizations (FDJ, FDGB)	Youth	Women	Education and Culture	Foreign Relations and Foreign Trade	Inter-German Policy
<b>Full Members of the Politburo</b>																		
Axen	journalist																O	
Dohlus	hairdresser			O														
Felfe	grad. engineer-economist		x								O		x	x				
Haebler	professor			x												O	x	O
Hager	professor of philosophy		x	x														
Herrmann	grad. journalist		O															
Hoffmann	grad. military scientist				O												O	
Honecker	roofer	O			O													
Jarowinsky	grad. economist director of economics									O								
Kleiber	grad. engineer							O										
Krenz	grad. social scientist				O									x				
Krolkowski	civil servant	x																
Mielke	"business" clerk				O													
Mittag	doctor of economics																	
Mueckenberger	mechanist	x		O					x									
Naumann	grad. teacher for Marxism/Leninism	O																
Neumann	cabinet maker	x		x														
Schabowski	grad. journalist		O															
Sindermann	journalist	O	x															
Stoph	construction technician	O			x												O	
Tisch	grad. social scientist																	
<b>Candidates of the Politburo</b>																		
Lange	grad. social scientist																	
Mueller 2	grad. agr. economist									O								
Schuerer	grad. social scientist						O											
Walde	grad. social scientist	O																

**Remarks:**  
This chart designates only those areas of qualification and fields of activity in which the members and candidates of the Politburo served for at least two years during their political careers. Taken into consideration was activity as ZK department director, minister, deputy minister or state secretary, also general political leadership functions within the party and state apparatus, as well as the function of chairman or that of a member of a committee of the VK, membership in the central council of the FDJ, and National Executive Council of the FDGB. Activities carried out while this research was underway are indicated by the symbol O.

2. M. Mueller's activity in the agricultural sector is restricted to her professional position as director of the Friedland Plant Production Agricultural-Industrial Union.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OPERATIONAL FEATURES OF NEW CATAPULT SEAT FOR L-39

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1985 (signed to press 8 Mar 85)

pp 160-161

[ARTICLE: "Pilot's Seat for the L-39 Trainer" by Lt Col G. Scholz]

[Text] With the introduction of the L 39 at the end of the 1970s, the military air units of the NVA were given a modern weapon system for advanced pilot training. The L 39 replaced the first-generation jet trainers. The modern design of the aircraft is evidenced in the technical realization of its systems and equipment and in its high reliability. An important aircraft system is the WS-1BR1 catapult seat which represents a new quality standard for rescue systems in subsonic military aircraft.

1. Rescue System Equipment Requirements

The general requirements for the engineering design of rescue systems are derived on the one hand from the mission altitude and speed domains of fighters and fighter-bombers and their training variants. On the other hand, the effects on the crew member during the catapulting process must also be taken into account.

At speeds greater than 400 km/h the aerodynamic drag on the crew member is so great that egress from the cabin is difficult or even impossible; and, at the same time, the probability of collision--mainly with the empennage--is increased.

These primary factors relating to safe exit from the pilot's cabin were receiving increased attention even during the second world war.

As the development of combat aircraft advanced, considerable improvements were made in rescue equipment. All design improvements are aimed at making the rescue process safer for the aircraft crew members.

Important considerations are for example the automatic completion of the catapulting process after initiation by the pilot and the extension of the potential utilization parameters of the rescue installations. Also the greatest possible commonality of training and combat aircraft rescue systems must be kept in mind.

## 2. Design Capabilities of the WS-1BR1 Catapult Seat

The WS-1BR1 catapult seat of the L-39 airplane can be used in emergency situations from 150-km/h aircraft speed and 0-m altitude. These are the minimal parameters for a safe rescue operation. The possibility of safe catapulting near or on the ground is made possible by an accelerator. At the same time, a longer duration acceleration is achieved which increases the speed of the functional unit--seat and occupant--without exceeding the physical load limits of the occupant.

During acceleration the line of action of the force is directed through the center of gravity of the rescue seat system to increase stability, or reduce associated angular velocities. To accomplish this, the WS-1BR1 seat is trimmed for the weight of the occupant by adjusting the rocket engines to produce a thrust along the line of action required for the case at hand. The catapulting sequence for the principal variants of the WS 1BR1 is initiated by the occupant's actuation of the centrally located catapulting grip.

As a modern rescue device, the seat is equipped with a program for automatically executing the steps of the catapulting process (see table 1). The automatic control is accomplished via electromagnets, automatic timers with dynamic-pressure-dependent latches and seat-dependent kinematic and pyrotechnic devices.

Table 1  
Programed Sequence of the Catapulting Process

Inhibit simultaneous catapulting from both aircraft cabins

Jettison cowling

Enforce required body position of occupant

Deploy telescoping guide mechanism for catapult seat

Stabilize seat after ejection

Separate seat and occupant as a function of altitude and speed

Open rescue parachute as a function of altitude

The design layout of the WS-1BR1 seat satisfies three basic requirements: 1. the occupant has to be able to simply and reliably initiate the catapulting process; 2. the seat must be highly reliable and preclude injury to the occupant; 3. It must assure survivability under all meteorological and atmospheric conditions.

Several subsystems which aid the occupant in adjusting his seat height and body position before or during flight are components of the WS-1BR1 catapult seat. Included are the shoulder harness mechanism which varies the occupant's torso mobility by tightening or loosening the parachute harness and the seat pan adjustment which enables the occupant to assume the required posture.

### 3. Pilot's Operation of Rescue Equipment Subsystems

In addition to the principal operating mode--initiation of the rescue process via the central catapulting grip--independent operation of the rescue equipment subsystems must be assured for safety reasons.

The separate operation of the following subsystems and parts of the rescue equipment is possible in the L-39 airplane and its catapult seat:

- autonomous jettisoning of the cabin canopies,
- catapulting in the case of nonjettisoned canopies,
- independent initiation the process for separating the pilot from the catapult seat,
- manual opening of the rescue parachute and
- overriding the launching latch.

The catapult seat in the L-39 airplane can be compared in its principal function and in its assurance of high flight safety with the modern rescue systems of fighter and fighter-bomber aircraft of the NVA.

For ground training the L-39 weapon system is completed by the NKTL-39 catapult training unit on which the flight crews can practice special situations.

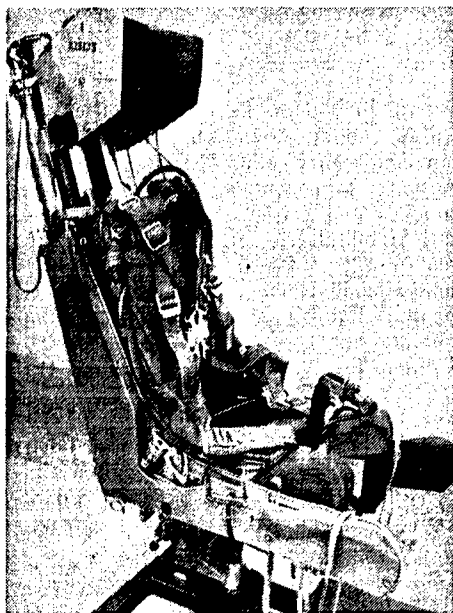


Figure 1. WS 1BR1 catapult seat viewed from the right with actuating system for emergency release and catapulting in the case of non jettisoned cabin canopy



Figure 2. WS-1BR1 catapult seat with rescue parachute as viewed from the front (at center is the central catapulting grip)

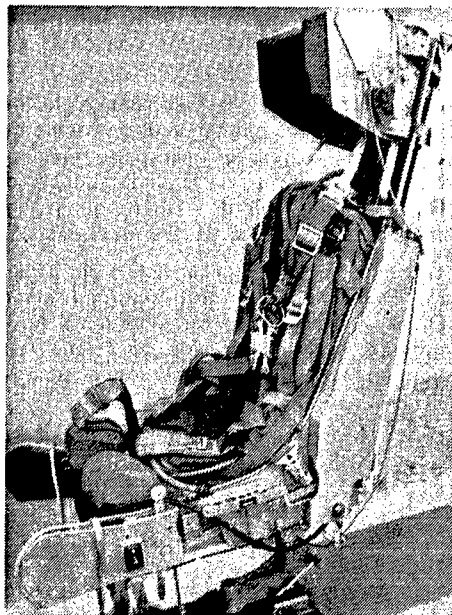


FIGURE 3. WS 1BR1 catapult seat viewed from the left with actuating mechanism for seat height adjustment and shoulder strap mechanism

9160

CSO: 2300/437

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED DISMISSES ENVIRONMENTAL, ETHICAL CONCERNS

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 104, 13 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[Article datlined IWE Berlin 13 Jul 85: "SED Opposes Hostility Toward Technology"]

[Text] The heated discussions carried on in the FRG about the meaning and usefulness of modern technologies and about their environmental protection aspects have apparently been causing the SED increasing concern of late: the party fears that the technology and environment discussions carried almost daily by Western TV are having an effect on the GDR populace, and might thus impede the party's own efforts to accelerate technological progress. For this reason, the [GDR] media are discussing these problems more and more frequently, and are raising special objection to hostility toward technology under socialism. In its most recent issue, the party theoretical journal, EINHEIT, which is published by the SED Central Committee, dismisses fears that humanitarian concerns "generally" lag behind technological progress. EINHEIT asserts that "societal means of production" determine whether, aided by automation, "increase in productivity and effectiveness is realized in the interest of a truly humanistic molding of life for the working people," or whether it "increases the advantages of a certain few."

The EINHEIT article makes it clear that the realization of socialism's "humanistic goals" is dependent "on the sweeping intensification of production to a very significant extent," and thus on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. To achieve this, "greater efforts at all levels" are needed. The SED journal called for a "struggle for the people, their feelings, their reason, their convictions and motivations, so that they firmly support the development and use of all the potential of science and technology."

In conjunction with this, the East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE admitted that the introduction of new technologies does not proceed "without problems" even under socialism, and that it places "increased demands on every individual." "Long term negative psychic consequences" cannot arise, however, since "the workers' social security [is] guaranteed under socialism."

The journal emphatically objected to "talk of a reduction or even cessation of economic growth" because of persistent problems in mastering technology. It

asserted that socialism without economic growth was inconceivable. Increasingly improved satisfaction of needs requires an "expanding material and technical base."

It asserted moreover that the socialist countries must not strive for top-flight performance merely to satisfy current demands and the dictates of efficiency. The case is rather that "responsibility in the international class struggle" places on them the duty "of occupying and retaining the foremost position in the world wide development of science and technology," for "the availability of new technologies [is] an effective weapon in the confrontation between systems."

CSO: 2300/478

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

ALCOHOLICS' SUICIDES CAUSE CONCERN--Among GDR alcoholics with cirrhosis of the liver, suicide is the second most frequent cause of death. This was recently pointed out at the seventh Dresden Club Forum on problems of alcohol and drug dependency. It was asserted that if, as has been known for years, the danger of suicide among chronic alcoholics is greater than that for the average of the general population, then the duty of physicians and specialized clinics is to identify the alcoholic as early as possible, and to attend him on his future course. After a hospital stay, the alcoholic ought to have extensive follow-up treatment, for the complex of conditions possibly leading to suicide will not have been cleared up. It was said that the result of investigations up to now ought to call for more attention to the danger of suicide among alcoholics in the next few years, so that a more specific program of therapy can eventually be developed. At the meeting, the complaint was raised that the increasingly serious problem of alcoholism in the GDR is to some extent seen as a taboo topic by society, even in health facilities. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 99, 5 Jul 85 p 3]

CSO: 2300/474



POLAND

# PRAISE FOR GORBACHEV'S ECONOMIC POLIGIES IN PZPR ORGAN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jun 85 p 6

[Article by Jerzy Kraszewski, TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent in Moscow]

[Text] Recent KPZR [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Central Committee deliberations are at the center of the attention of the Soviet society. Ideas from the deliberations are the subject of press commentaries and lively discussions in plants, in party organizations and in academic institutions. The atmosphere of open, substantive discussion and often of sharp criticism that prevailed during the deliberations has been carried over into the basic elements of the economy.

In discussing the problems of scientific-technical progress, Mikhail Gorbachev in effect presented in his report the party's comprehensive program for accelerating the socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union. This program encompasses all fields of life and political-economic activity. In this way, the discussion that has been ongoing for several months as an antecedent to the 27th Congress gains new, important impulses.

## The Key to Effectiveness

Without question, the new approach of the KPZR to programing economic development is especially noteworthy. While preserving the continuity of the strategic line and continuing the processes begun earlier, clearly the KPZR recognizes that conditions are ripe for the radical acceleration of development. It is not merely a question of a simple increase in the growth rate, but a question of the economy's entry into a new type of stage.

This new stage should be characterized primarily by the setting in motion of intensive growth factors, by the bringing up of social productivity to the highest worldwide levels and by an increase in general management efficiency. These goals will be achieved through the rapid technical modernization of the entire production apparatus.

Scientific-technical progress in the Soviet economy has long been considered important. However, this process still does not match needs. Moreover, it is uneven. These disproportions were criticized at the deliberations.

It is not even a question of disproportions. Scientific-technical progress is now becoming the basic lever for intensification. All other composite parts of the program have become subordinated to this lever. To the same degree, this applies to capital spending policy, to the planning of the production structure and to changes in the economic mechanism and the system of management.

#### Acceleration

The most characteristic elements of this concept, defining its specific nature, are:

- the comprehensive, somewhat panoramic grasp of all problems of development in their mutual interrelationship;
- the clear definition of current and future goals;
- tasks for today and tomorrow;
- a realistic and just assessment of past experiences and the current level of productive forces, permitting the drawing of equally realistic conclusions and the formulation of optimal plans;
- emphasis on hastening the rate of change.

The party has outlined an abbreviated temporal vista for resolving current questions and future tasks.

It is a turn, not an evolution and, being so, it must be sharp and immediate. Is this difficult? Unquestionably, it is. Is it realistic? It was agreed at the deliberations that it is realistic because all of the underlying conditions for this exist: a rich productive base, continual progress in all fields, formidable scientific progress, tremendous scientific-technical and research potential and a committed cadre of scholars.

The conclusion is that the concept of a great turn programed by the KPZR, during which the negative trends revealed in recent years and the reasons underlying the current obstruction of the maximum utilization of accumulated potential emanates not from the weaknesses in the Soviet economy, but from its strength.

The task, then, is to mobilize all the potential of the socialist economy and to get it moving in the highest trade turnovers.

#### Changes on the Map

Changes in capital spending policy are part of the stream of these activities. Changes on the capital spending map already have been instituted.

A year ago, the KPZR Central Committee [CC] and the ZSRR Council of Ministers passed a special resolution on this issue. However, these changes were too slow; they were impeded by the various "initiatives" of those economic elements that, as was stressed in the deliberations, saw an increase in outlays alongside a minimization of tasks (i.e., extensive factors) as the only route for improving efficiency and increasing production. Those that were responsible were severely criticized by the party; in some cases, their names were given.

The changes focus on making outlays for the technological revamping of enterprises (i.e., installing modern machinery and leading technologies instead of building new buildings for old equipment) and on mobilizing production that conserves raw and fabricated materials and ensures high-quality production.

Science plays a leading role. While its impressive achievements of the past are much appreciated and it should receive its due for contributing to the country's development, the proposals for the program envisage scientific progress that is more closely related to everyday economic tasks. The three links in the chain--science, technology and production--must be closely connected.

#### Centralism and Autonomy

As the documents from the deliberations show, the interdependence of the problems of the country's development includes the following cycle: modernization, the rational utilization of raw materials, the production of modern machinery and the economic mechanism.

For a long time, much attention has been devoted to the latter question in the Soviet Union. An economic experiment that basically is yielding positive experiences continues across a broad scale. Time is passing, however, and the new solutions should be implemented more rapidly, and not only in an experimental way. The proposal made at the deliberations regarding this issue was that, in order to really accelerate scientific-technological progress, the indispensable economic and organizational conditions must be created and the principles of planning as well as the economic mechanism should be restructured.

M. Gorbachev said: "The major direction for restructuring economic management is basically clear for us. It is based on the more thorough, comprehensive utilization of the values of the socialist economy. We should continue the line of strengthening and developing democratic centralism. Increased efficiency of the centralized element in management and planning, the expansion of the autonomy and responsibility of enterprises, the active utilization of more flexible forms and methods of management, cost-effective accounting and goods-monetary relations and the broad development of the initiative of the masses--this is the essential basis of the transformation."

I believe that the truly universal interest of Soviet society in the program ideas of Mikhail Gorbachev's report and the entire course of the 2-day discussion within the KPZR Central Committee is primarily the result of the precise statement of the current and future goals of party economic policy that ensures continuity and continuation while also considering the new conditions and new phenomena that arise in the developmental process.

POLAND

## RESULTS OF SEJM COMMISSION MEETINGS

### Commission on Internal Affairs

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] At its 25 June meeting, the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice assessed the implementation of the state budget by the Ministry of Justice, the Supreme Court and the Office for Combatants' Affairs in 1984. In the debate, the deputies both assessed the current situation and exchanged views on the issues of the operation of the judicature. Deputies asked the leaders of the Ministry of Justice numerous questions.

Reference was made, for example, to the charge that has been being brought up for some time now regarding the so-called fiscalization of the administration of justice. Meanwhile, as is evident from the materials submitted to deputies, last year revenues coming in from fines and court costs or notary's fees, while showing an increase, amounted to little more than half of the outlays of this ministry. A surplus of this income over the costs of operating the judicature was noted only once in history.

The deputies likewise were interested in cadre shortages in the administration of justice. At the end of 1984, nearly 1,500 positions were not filled. These are primarily administrative-technical positions. On the other hand, as was reported during the meeting, the cadre situation among judges and court assessors has improved. The number of applicants has increased and the trend towards the departure of experienced judges from the judicature to enter other legal professions has declined. While 136 judges resigned from the judicature last year, this year only 39 have resigned to date.

The next topic of discussion for the deputies was the continuing backlog of cases. Last year the number of decisions exceeded the number of cases that reached the courts by 20,000. The deputies noted, however, that the court backlog is still 100,000 cases.

The deputies' debate also addressed the issue of financial discipline in the Ministry of Justice. The results of an NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] check point out the existing shortcomings in this field. The deputies stressed that in this ministry, financial-materials management ought to be a model for other ministries.

The commission approved the government reports of the implementation of that part of last year's state budget that relates to the organizational units being discussed.

Deputies also heard the reply of the minister of justice to the opinion of the commission on the operation of the notary's office. It pointed out the means and methods aimed at improving the work of notary's offices having cadre and space problems. (PAP)

#### National Defense Commission Meets

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] On 25 June, a meeting of the Sejm National Commission was held, during which a report was examined regarding the implementation of the National Socioeconomic Plan and the part of the 1984 budget that concerns the Ministry of National Defense. Deputy Bronislaw Owsianek (ZSL, Inowroclaw) chaired the deliberations.

Deputy Henryk Stawski (SD, Zielona Gora) gave the report.

Following the discussion, in which the following deputies participated: Bronislaw Owsianek, Marian Jakubczak (ZSL, Ostroleka), Stanislaw Ciechan (PZPR, Chelm) and Wladyslaw Kruczek (PZPR, Tarnobrzeg) and, after hearing the additional explanations given by the deputy minister of national defense, Gen of Arms Antoni Jasinski and by the general director of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, Div Gen Jan Zielinski, the commission approved the report and decided to recommend that the government report be accepted for the given period.

The resolution stated that the Ministry of National Defense had made continued important achievements in the implementation of defense and economic tasks. This was achieved under difficult economic conditions in Poland thanks to the great commitment and many sacrifices of the entire armed forces staff. At all levels of the military, great attention was paid to the effective and economical utilization of the forces and means designated in the state budget for defense purposes. The commission likewise stressed the great contributions made by the military in 1984 in the development of the national economy in the process of our emergence from the crisis.

The commission examined and accepted the report from the work of the Supreme Chamber of Control in 1984 in the area of national defense. Col Witold Fronczek, director of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] Special Industry Team, presented the report. High praise was given to the work of NIK special teams in 1984. During this time, comprehensive checks in many fields vital to the country's defense were conducted. The commission also stated that the deputies and the commission were very pleased with NIK post-inspection materials, especially with regard to the implementation of the National Socioeconomic Plan in the defense field. (PAP)

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POLAND

## SEJM ELECTION MEETINGS

### State Electoral Commission Meets

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] On 25 June, the first meeting of the State Electoral Commission was held under the chairmanship of the president of the Supreme Administrative Court, Adam Zielinski.

Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Tadeusz W. Mlynczak placed the Council of State documents creating the commission into the hands of the State Electoral Commission.

Commission members familiarized themselves with the progress of pre-election activities held to date and resolved a work plan, determining the manner of implementation of commission tasks as specified in the PRL Sejm Electoral Law.

The State Electoral Commission appointed a local inspectorate for assisting district and precinct electoral commissions in implementing their duties stipulated by law. (PAP)

### National Election Council Established

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jun 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 25 June in Warsaw, the National Election Council was established. The council is made up of 25 representatives from the chief authorities of the organizations named in article 43 paragraph 1 of the electoral law.

Chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council Jan Dobraczynski was appointed chairman of the council. After the creation of the council was announced to the Council of State, the first meeting of the council was held. At this meeting, the goals and the tasks of the National Election Council were discussed in light of the electoral law and the electoral campaign that is underway. Then a code of regulations for the council was passed and a model for the code of regulations of provincial electoral councils was resolved. It also was established that the deadline for the acceptance by electoral councils of the announcement of the candidacy of persons nominated as deputy candidates from authorized organizations is 7 August 1985.

The National Election Council entertained suggestions regarding future work and meetings.

#### Makeup of the National Election Council

Chairman of the council is Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the PRON National Council.

Deputy chairmen are: Mieczyslaw Grabek, chairman of the ZSL Main Review Commission; Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Marek Wieczorek, deputy chairman of the SD Central Committee.

Secretary of the council is Kazimierz Cypryniak, head of the PZPR Central Committee Political-Organizational Department.

Members include: Jozef Baryla, chief of the WP [Polish Army] GZP [Main Political Directorate]; Jadwiga Biedrzycka, chairperson of the LKP [League of Polish Women] Main Board; Alfred Beszterda, deputy chairman of the PRON National Council; Zbigniew Cierpka, deputy chairman of OPZZ [expansion unavailable]; Andrzej Elbanowski, PZKS [Polish Catholic-Social Union] official, deputy chairman of the PRON National Council; Kazimierz Fortuna, member of the ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] Secretariat, head of the ZSL NK Organizational Department; Edward Gnat, deputy chairman of the Main Council of the National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations, farmer from the Skierniewice Province; Wladyslaw Gut, deputy chief of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union]; Franciszek Jeziorek, construction foreman at the Slask DOKP [District Directorate of State Railroads] in Katowice; Jozef Kaminski, president of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] Main Board; Marian Kunkowski, member of the SD CK Secretariat, head of the SD CK Department of Representative Organs; Zbigniew Lubas, secretary of the ZMW National Board; Wojciech Maciejewski, ChSS [Christian Social Association] official, member of the Main Board Presidium; Ryszard Manteuffel, professor, regular member of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], member of the PRON National Council Executive Committee; Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of OPZZ; Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the Politburo, PZPR CC [Central Committee] secretary; Jaroslaw Pachowski, deputy chairman of the ZSP [Union of Labor Cooperatives] Supreme Council; Stanislaw Popiela, chairperson of the KGW [Rural Housewives' Circle] Main Council, a farmer from the Nowy Sacz Province; Marek Ungier, secretary of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Main Board; Stanislaw Wlazlo, PAX official, member of the PAX Association Board, journalist. (PAP)

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POLAND

## FLEX TIME, WORKING CONDITIONS PRESENTED

Warszawa ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Halina Lesnicka: "Adjustable or Flexible Working Conditions. The Pole is Grouchy, Because he is Sleepy"]

[Text] Our workday begins early, much earlier than in other countries. People who say the Pole comes to work grouchy because he didn't have enough sleep are basically right. Does this have to be so?

Our experiments with flexible work shifts have gone on for quite a while. In the 1970's attempts were made to introduce the so called flexible work shifts in factories, administrative offices, institutions and planning departments. The staffs involved showed a great interest in the project since it afforded considerable freedom in the selection of starting and quitting times which were reconciled over extended periods of months or weeks. Unfortunately, in a short time these plans were abandoned.

Arguments favoring the introduction of flexible workdays were very well substantiated and to the point. It appeared that this approach would relieve peak traffic congestion, avoid crowding and shorten commuting time. Also, if the worker needed time off to take care of some important business during working hours, he would not have to ask for special permission, but would simply come to work later and make up the time shortage at his own convenience. This was a very comfortable arrangement for the workers, especially for the mothers of small children. Employees of planning departments favored the idea since the development of new concepts often requires efforts which may extend past normal working hours.

Staffs in some of the establishments where staggered starting hours were instituted met the innovation with approval. It is hard to say whether this method led to abuses where the off hours were not made up. The system of staggered starting hours in the time span between 7 and 9 AM for the standard 8 hour shifts also provided numerous advantages. It reduced the incidents of tardiness, frayed nerves and anxieties resulting from the well known traffic problems, since it eased peak traffic congestions.

After all, the system of staggered working hours has been practiced in many countries; however, during the 1970's, we tried it in only a few of our institutions.



## Do We All Have to Follow the Same Pattern?

Asst prof Helena Strzemska writes in her book ["A Selection of Work Period Problems" by Helena Strzemska and Elzbieta Sobotka, IPSS 1984] that the most vivid interest in the concept of flexible shifts was where, on certain days, the workday was shorter than the standard 8 hours, then on others was extended beyond the norm. These systems died an unnatural death, a fact evidenced by the Labor Department's prohibition of their practice.

The main reason given for this action was the restriction imposed against any overtime beyond the 8 hour limitation.

Employees of quite a few institutions regretted seeing the adjustable system withdrawn and in several places the practice was continued in spite of the official ban without disclosing the fact. Many of the departments and institutions engaged in planning or research and development remained on the program. The question arises of why these experiments were discontinued.

We are aware that our general productive efficiency, to say the least, is poor. In fact, it is very poor. The nominal workday is only 80 percent efficient. The output of our 42 hour week in reality represents only 34 hours of honest labor.

Discussions relating to how we can bring about improvements in the utilization of productive time involve many areas of endeavor. An attempt aiming toward better efficiency was made in a directive issued by MPPISS [Ministry of Labor Wages and Social Service Affairs] in November of 1984 and put into effect January 1, 1985.

This directive gave the managers a great degree of discretionary power in the matter of increasing or decreasing working hours to accommodate production quotas while still observing the 42 hour per week time limitation. This could be optionally averaged out within monthly or yearly time periods. It could also easily extend the shifts to 9 hour workdays and provide the workers with additional days off which could be applied to their vacations.

It would appear that an arrangement of this sort would be appealing to the majority of the personnel, especially the younger workers who would be willing to work 9 hour shifts in the winter season to have more free days available for their summer vacation. Despite the number of advantages this program has to offer, it is not being followed and is now a dead issue.

Why has this happened? MPPISS is presently conducting surveys in 100 institutions, some of which are: the steel, machine tool, chemical and light manufacturing industries, including food suppliers, where in addition to questions referring to the utilization of productive time there are questions touching upon the subject of supervision of the program. The fact is that in 90 percent of the institutions it is not being followed. The Labor Control Board is looking into this problem, but from some of the institution managers' press interviews, the following arguments came to light.

## A Convenience for the Administration?

There is no possibility for the adaption of a staggered work hour program by the heavily staffed two or three shift shop, since parking spaces must be vacated for the oncoming shift.

This argument is deceptive inasmuch as only 30 to 40 percent of a full complement works on the second shift while the fourth generally employs only a small fraction of the full crew. Further, it has been claimed that this system would create organizational chaos, difficulties in verifying hours worked and making it impossible to keep track of hours actually put in.

Why should we try to hide all these facts? All of the mentioned objectives are simply excuses, according to the claims of Anatol Szurmak, director of the Planning and Labor Time Scheduling Department of MPPiSS.

I was only able to find a few institutions, like Warsaw's "Elwe" which admit that the system of staggered starting times is in effect for the administration and techno-engineering personnel. This program is also employed at "ZWUT" in Warsaw.

Does a 5- or 15- minute late arrival for work warrant an immediate disciplinary action? Why get all upset about it when the time can be easily made up after normal working hours? Does the worker have to begin his workday all upset? That could prove to be dangerous according to director Mieczyslaw Rutkowski who is assigned to the alleviation of labor problems.

In businesses, service agencies and tourist bureaus one can adapt an intermittent work schedule introducing time-off periods of no fewer than two hours.

It is unnecessary to have people sitting around aimlessly during periods of total inactivity when there are no clients to be served. These offices should keep late hours. Public transportation and post office services should be attuned to the demands of peak hours. In all instances where these conditions are present, we could introduce the staggered or intermittent time concept. According to director Szurmak, these innovations could be implemented at seasonal jobs when people often sit around with nothing to do while waiting for deliveries of construction or basic component materials, for instance, in the building operations and in intermediate or end production in plants.

According to the survey conducted by MPPiSS, the staggered time system is functioning in only a few establishments, one of them being "Telekom" in Poznan where management personnel and technicians of the quality control department, representing approximately 850 people, are involved. Another one is Warsaw's "Lechia Pollena" which takes advantage of it when daily production quotas require the work hours to be extended to 8.5, in which instance employees are paid overtime.

## How Many Free Saturdays?

Almost all the rest of the polled industries adhere to a strict program of 8 hour workdays allowing for 38 free Saturdays a year (called variant I, contained in the October directive). We could certainly apply many such variants. You could, for instance, have 34 free Saturdays while working 8 hours per day for 5 days a week and on the sixth day work for 6 hours. You could also have all Saturdays free by working steadily for 8.5 hours daily. Undoubtedly many of the workers would favor this solution if they had the voice.

According to the research of H. Strzeminska, free Saturdays are considered to be the most desirable gain in the social standing of the working class, but the extended working day also carries with it certain consequences. As professor H. Strzeminska claims, this problem should be examined with consideration given to the over-all complicated conditions prevalent in the contemporary family. The necessity for the appropriate extension of hours at pre-school and kindergarden facilities and also those of the stores etc. Ultimately then, does the end justify the means? It may be better to let the present system of two free Saturdays a month stand since we are slowly getting accustomed to the idea.

Still on the other hand, it might be worthwhile to return to the adjustable and flexible workday experiments of the 1970's which allowed for many conveniences for the workers, although they were a little cumbersome for management.

It appears that in these decisions it would be most appropriate to give the workers and their union a final voice in the matter.

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POLAND

PLENARY EPISCOPATE CONFERENCE DISCUSSES CHURCH IN POLITICS

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 26, 30 Jun 85 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] From 20-23 June Polish bishops visited Szczecin, site of the 207th Plenary Conference of the Episcopate of Poland convened under the leadership of Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the primate of Poland.

The bishops discussed Poland's problems with great concern. The country is still in crisis. The church, which has been with the nation for over a thousand years, has been moving toward solving this crisis by spreading a gospel of peace and the principles of social justice. That was the intention which guided its initiative in setting up the Agricultural Foundation, which is to promote the development of private farms.

The church neither is, nor wants to be, a political force. Faithful to the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, "it does not in any way identify itself with the political community or link itself to any political system," but "while spreading evangelical truth, it also respects and supports the political freedom and responsibility of citizens" (*Gaudium et spes* 76). Now that the country is in need, the bishops are repeating the council's appeal: "All Christians should be aware of their singular mission in the political community, which is to set a shining example and conscientiously discharge their duties and serve the common good; their actions should show how authority may be reconciled with freedom, individual initiative with organic bonds and the demands of the social organism, and useful unity with fruitful diversity" (*Gaudium et spes* 75). The church supports the search for social agreement leading to genuine national conciliation. Social peace depends on respect for human rights--the right to truth, freedom, justice and love, and the civil law has to embrace the natural human rights. No one may be persecuted for expressing his concern for the common good in a way which differs from the authorities' understanding.

"(So) it is the right and duty of everyone, which should also be recognized by the state authorities, to contribute as much as possible to the genuine progress of his society" (*Gaudium et spes* 65). Such are the council's teachings. The council has also taught us that "at all times and everywhere, the church should have the real freedom to propagate faith and its social teachings, perform its task among people without any constraints, and pronounce moral judgments even on issues which concern politics if the basic rights of the human being or salvation of souls require this..." (*Gaudium et spes* 76).

The bishops appeal for prayer for the end of trials of priests and lay people, which give rise to justified concern.

The bishops heard Primate Glemp's report from the conversation he held with General Wojciech Jaruzelski on 18 June. They were also informed about the subject of talks conducted by representatives of the Episcopate and government officials.

Priests, who spread Christ's gospel and execute the church's mission, make a great contribution to the religious and moral life of Polish society. The bishops discussed the current pastoral tasks of priests and the conditions in which they are living and working. They repeated after the council that "pastoral love requires that they should always work in close unity with bishops and other brothers in priesthood" (Presbyterorum ordinis 14), identifying "the unity of their lives with the unity of the church's mission" (Presbyterorum ordinis 14). Their duty, especially now, is also to look after the dignity of sacred places and God's words which they are spreading. The bishops appreciate the common effort of priests in preaching Christ, crucified Christ, and encourage them "to imitate the apostles in being able to bring fruit and endure poverty, to prove their own example that they should give away the gift which God also gave them free" (Presbyterorum ordinis 17).

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POLAND

# COMMANDER DISCUSSES FIRST WARSAW MECHANIZED DIVISION

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 20, May 85 p 5

[Interview with Col Zenon Poznanski, commander of the Warsaw First Mechanized Division, by Kazimierz Nicinski: "Tradition and Modernity". Date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Whatever is said about the Kosciuszko First Mechanized Division, its birth, its road to battle from Lenino ti Berlin and its present state are all connected with the glorious tradition of our people's army and the legend of this division which continues to live among the veterans and the present generations of its troops as well as the public...

[Answer] That is the language and logic of history. About 42 years ago, when the Soviet press released a communique announcing the formation in the USSR of the Polish Kosciuszko Division, certainly no one thought that in two years the troops of this unit would plant the victorious Polish flag on the ruins of Berlin, the Nazi capital of the Third Reich, next to the Soviet banner but this is what happened. This is what is remembered by the people that I meet and speak with, the people who had come to Shelts on the Oka to join the Polish division there. It is due to them and their deeds that these events continue to live in the memory of our people. These are the promoters and cocreators of the beautiful tradition of the Kosciuszko Division.

[Question] Has this tradition of the First Infantry Division been taken over and continued by the First Warsaw Mechanized Division?

[Answer] Its lasting values above all have been continued. The chief values of this division's training are patriotism, devotion to the cause of the fatherland and self-sacrifice in daily service. Our ranks will always remember and remain loyal to the combat tradition of friendship and brotherhood in arms between the Kosciuszko division and Soviet troops.

We are also brought together by many other things such as the name of our patron figure, the hero of wars for national liberation, Tadeusz Kosciuszko. The Piast eagle and the characteristic four-cornered hat which has now been crowned with a laurel wreath and the initials of our division name, 1 WDZ, is shown on a patch worn the right sleeve of the uniform. We have also kept our unit's color of yellow, worn by our predecessors facings of their uniforms and symbolizing the "yellow banks of the Vistula" renowned in song is now the color of our division's hatbands. We also celebrate the date of swearing-in

of the First Kosciuszko Infantry Division on 15 July 1943, the anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald. Our present generations of soldiers are also sworn in on this day, often on the field of Grunwald.

[Question] Regardless of all of these things that unite you and make the uniform of your division easily recognizable on the street, the Kosciuszko Division has changed very much...

[Answer] The spirit of its troops remains the same and this is a moral force that makes itself felt in ideological ardor, ambition, uncommon self-sacrifice and decisiveness and toughness in service. What distinguishes us today from our legendary predecessors is technology above all. Let us make a few comparisons. The division once had only a few mechanized vehicles while today, it has hundreds of many different uses. Its firepower and capabilities have increased very much. It is enough to say that we now possess the most modern fire systems which consists no longer of just rifles and tanks but these and many other types of equipment that make our unit more flexible and effective. Our artillery is different. Once we had tractor-drawn guns but they are now self-propelled. Electronics has become a part of all of our gear and weapons. Finally, both groups and individual soldiers have rockets.

There were a few specialist troops in the Kosciuszko Infantry Division but now we have scores and their numbers increase as technology advances. This presents modern commanders with particular problems. First of all, they must know exactly what the capabilities and uses of equipment and weapons are. Second, they must train a class of highly specialized troops to service and operate these weapons and third, soldiers and entire subunits must be trained to perform certain tasks unfailingly in any battlefield situation. There is one more difference: the training and educational process is much more complex today. These are some of the things that show the modern form our division has taken.

[Question] I suspect that it is a particular honor for an officer to command a division in which tradition is so much a part of the present.

[Answer] It seems that the dream of every soldier is to serve in the First Warsaw Mechanized Division and it is a great distinction to command it. I must say that when my superior offered me the command of this division, that was a great surprise. At that time, I commanded another unit and had the necessary training and much experience. At the same time, I knew that entirely new types of problems and tasks were given the commander of this division. Along with the enjoying the honor of commanding this division, I must also deal with lesser duties and face enormous responsibility, especially moral responsibility. After all, it is hard to forget that our division is a thoroughly modern organism with a long historical tradition.

[Question] You mentioned that you once commanded another unit and that your knowledge of tradition and the facts of life in the first division would indicate that these contacts will always be close...

[Answer] Of course, I am enormously tied to the First Warsaw Mechanized Division despite the fact that I have not long been with it. I was born and raised in Warsaw where the memories about that division are very strong. It is enough to remember the liberation of Warsaw-Praga and that beautiful monument, the statue of a Kosciuszko trooper, that was set up this year on the right bank of the Vistula. From earliest childhood, I have been around Kosciuszko troopers, was familiar with the characteristic features of their uniform and came to feel close to them. My life so turned out that the patron figure of this division was also the patron figure of my childhood. I graduated from the Kosciuszko Lyceum and then entered the Kosciuszko Infantry Officer's School. During martial law, my unit worked closely with the Kosciuszko Warsaw First Mechanized Division and now I command that division...

[Question] And you are commanding it during a special time for that unit. This year, the anniversary of the formation of that division is taking place at the same time as some other important anniversaries such as the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Pact. What meaning do these dates in May have for your troops?

[Answer] This may sound somewhat melodramatic but the role taken by the First Infantry Division in the storming of Berlin is in a certain sense a symbolic gratification for the contribution made by our entire nation to the struggle to overthrow German fascism. For us in the Kosciuszko Division, this above all means that we must remind young generations of Poles of the lesson of history and pay tribute to those that fought alongside of us and all who fell fighting. During these May anniversaries, we will send numerous youth patrols to those who survived the fighting, the combat veterans, and to those who first removed unexploded shells and cleared mined land in our liberated country, who rebuilt our cities and villages and helped establish a new government of the people. Special tribute is given to this generation of Kosciuszko soldiers for the participation of our troops in the campaign "In Guard Of The Victories Of Our Fathers". Our troops are responsible not only for taking part in these anniversaries but also for improving combat skills, training, discipline and for beneficial work to the individual and society. I feel that the best expression of this is continuity of the generations serving in our unit.

These May anniversaries are also a special occasion for remembering the enormous help given us by the Soviets in forming, training and preparing this division for combat. This is an occasion for using examples of friendship at the front to better understand how real brotherhood in arms was born and strengthened and the natural ground of human good will that has crystallized the Polish-Soviet alliance which is today the fundamental principle on which the existence of our state is based. Furthermore, these anniversaries are just like any other day in the life of a soldier in which he must maintain a high level of combat readiness and discipline and excel in training and the performance of tasks. We enjoy the benefits of our ties to the Warsaw pact and we are improving cooperation on the field of battle.

We really try to convince our soldiers that for us Poles, it is of the utmost importance to maintain our friendship and cooperation with our unfailing ally,



the Soviet Union. Freedom and alliance with the Soviet Union is the guarantee of Poland's safety and the peaceful development of our country. For that reason, the soldiers of the Kosciuszko Division will maintain and protect this friendship.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12261

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POLAND

## PILOTS DISCUSS DUTIES, CAREERS, ACHIEVEMENTS

Air Force Officer

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 21, May 85 p 3

[Interview with Maj Tadeusz Malczak by Tadeusz Malinowski: "The Test of training". Date and place not specified]

[Text] Tadeusz Malczak joined the Polish air force out of conviction and admiration. As a pupil at a lyceum in Czestochowa, he attended a meeting with a representative of the municipal air club. This meeting was what determined all of his later decision in life. He joined the air club and after passing his medical examinations, he was sent for glider training in the course of First Degree Military Flight Training (1962). He flew in Czaply gliders. In 1963, he passed his training for the second degree of this course. When he received his certificate, he began to work and after a while finished vocational school in Zabrze, receiving a diploma in radiology. In 1967, he decided that he was wasting time and felt unsatisfied working in any field other than aviation. He had continued to feel drawn by aviation and flying and that was where he saw his place in life. He therefore applied to the Officer's Higher School of Aviation in Deblin. After passing his medical examinations, he became a candidate. In 1968-1971, he was an officer cadet of the Officer's Higher School of Aviation in Deblin and on 3 January 1972, he joined a fighter squadron of the Polish Air Force. He has received a Silver Medal of Merit and in 1984 he became a master pilot. In all, he has more than several thousand hours of flight time behind him including time spent flying supersonic aircraft.

[Question] I would like to start our conversation with the successes that have been achieved in training fighter pilots. I am referring to extraordinary achievements in the speed and quality of training.

[Answer] This year, which saw the end of a certain cycle in the raising of class levels, we have had great success in training fighter pilots. When I speak of our success, I do so on the basis of what I know about the training of pilots abroad. It is therefore something to be proud of that in the last

two years we have trained first-class pilots in our squadron. This unique achievement required the commitment of personnel, good weather conditions during the training period and above all the great help given by our commander. All of these factors that have had a strong influence on our great training success were put to the best use possible. The effects of these factors depended on very good organization of training and consistent realization of training schedules requiring very systematic work and competence on the part of instructors.

[Question] In 1983, the Air Force Command awarded you the title of master of tactics and aimed fire in the fighter aviation group. Since another master has not yet been found, you continue to hold that title. What is the purpose of the competitions in which you were awarded this title and how many such competitions are held?

[Answer] Competitors are found through a process of elimination. The best pilots come to the landing field and take part in three competitions. The goal of these is fast flying and the winner is chosen on the basis of all of his strong points and weak ones. The three competitions were in bombing and gun and rocket firing. Accuracy of fire, speed and quality of tactical performance determined the winner of that title.

[Question] Is your title of master seen as reason for any distinction?

[Answer] Yes, I have been distinguished by being given a responsible position in my squadron. If I had not become a master pilot, I would have less work. I think that this is a proper method of career advancement for pilots: the more things you can do and the better you do them, the more work you receive. I am not complaining. I know that very much depends on well-organized work.

[Question] There are moments in a fighter pilot's life in which his highest skills are demanded. In Poland, you have attained the title of master of tactics and aimed fire while in the Soviet Union, you and your fighter wing had very good results in target firing at night from low altitude. These results have been very highly rated and are a reflection of the level of training received by our pilots. Was it easy to attain such results in shooting?

[Answer] Very difficult, but only for a while. It was on the practice range in the Soviet Union that we were the first to conduct fire at night from low altitude. At low altitudes, you cannot see as well and this makes it difficult to aim. Firing as a group at night from low altitude makes many demands on pilots. The art of flying is for a fighter squadron to come together on a cloudy night, fly together to the target, find the target and then launch rockets and destroy it. There were very poor atmospheric conditions on that night in the Soviet Union in which we had such good results. Even before we took off, the sky was already cloudy and we could not see the horizon. During flight, we did not see a single light below (the flight was over steppe land). After a while, we saw just the pulsating lights of the target. I will remember that night until the end of my life. The target fell over before we could launch our rockets. No one knew what had happened. The flight navigator asked me whether I had already fired and I

said no. After landing, the group commander told me that I would have to fly again. The organizers admitted that the target had fallen over and that a new one had been put up. He told me to concentrate just as hard as before. In the same but worse conditions, I flew back with my squadron and we shot the target.

[Question] You were one of the most senior officers leading a squadron there and this made it necessary for you to do your best. In your opinion, how well are Polish pilots rated at exercises?

[Answer] Without exaggerating, I can say that they do very well. Our pilots make the most effort to attain the best results.

[Question] Aside from modern fighter aviation, among people with little knowledge of the principles of this branch of aviation, there are legends that supersonic fighter pilots just perform commands sent from ground. Is that true?

[Answer] Supersonic fighter pilots are not robots but experienced pilots and soldiers. Modern supersonic aircraft have still not become pilotless craft. If they were, a pilot would be unnecessary. Since we are fighter pilots, most of our tasks are centered around attacking the enemy. The pilot is led to his target by a navigator through a system of commands. By this I mean necessary commands or those that are relayed to the pilot over the navigator's transmitter. As soon as the pilot sees his target, his work begins and he can count on no one but himself. In these decisive moments, no one can help him. The hardest flights are those that take place at night or in cloudy weather. The pilot must intercept the target without losing track of his own position. If planes are flying in a group, the commander receives navigation guidance and the others listen in.

[Question] After your several years of service, has your wife gotten used to the fact that you must fly everyday and sometimes even at night?

[Answer] No, she still has not and I understand her. Why? Pilots work in different ways, according to their needs and decisions: morning, afternoon, evening and at night and under conditions that we cannot always predict. We simply do not work according to any given schedule and any such plan would be impossible in our branch of service. Sometimes, when I return from the airfield and lay down to sleep, everyone else has finished breakfast and is going to work. I have to sleep during the day so I can fly at night. Despite the apparent difficulties and irregularities that the average person sees, our work has much about it that is very romantic.

[Question] I am sure that you sometimes like to relax from your work and how do you do so?

[Answer] I sail whenever I can. Swimming and being around water relaxes me. I am a ski instructor and I take my family to the mountains every winter. My wife Jagoda and my sons Michal and Marek ski with me. As I have already said, we swim or sail in summer. I try to make our trips together as pleasant as possible.

[Question] You spend many hours at the airfield or in the air. Has a soldier's life which is sometimes quite spartan not bored you? Do you ever regret becoming an air force pilot?

[Answer] I may sometimes complain about what we are doing or that we are working without the proper organization but in spite of this, in everything that we do, even if it is hard or we do not like it, we do it with the feeling that we can master it. We regularly gain experience and try to become good specialists. Even if what I say sounds idealistic, if I had to start out in life all over again, I would still do just what I am doing now. I do not regret my choice of profession nor anything that I have been through. I am doing well and I want for things to remain that way as long as possible. Flying makes my life more meaningful.

Air Force Defense Officer

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 21, 26 May 85 p 5

[Interview with Capt Konrad Lusniewski by Stanislaw Lukaszewski: "Happiness favors the brave: Continuers of our military traditions". Time and place not given]

[Text] [Question] What is flying?

[Answer] It is a profession for myself and for all jet pilots that perform practice or combat flights everyday. It is also a great adventure.

[Question] Is this the adventure that so many boys dream of?

[Answer] From a perspective of my experiences over many years spent in a squadron and in the air, this adventure seems a little less romantic than that but aviation has fulfilled certain of my boyhood expectations.

[Question] Let us talk about flying and the service and family life of an officer and pilot and his interests, beginning with flying...

[Answer] Aviation technology is continually developing, velocities are growing, flight ceilings are being raised and maneuver difficulties are increasing. What are the capabilities of the personnel that operate these aircraft? During flight, a pilot must take in an ever-increasing amount of data. One piece of data follows another and the number of cockpit instruments is increasing. Every flight requires great concentration as well as an ability to divide one's attention...

[Question] Just a moment. I am beginning to doubt that this is a profession for the average person. Can anyone become a pilot?

[Answer] Of course! Every healthy and competent young person can become a pilot.

[Question] Let us continue but let us start with the simplest things first. Let us spare ourselves the intricacies of technology and tactics...

[Answer] The airplane stands on the landing strip. I ask for permission to take off and the flight director gives it to me. I start up the engine, run it once at maximum power and check the cockpit instruments.

[Question] And then you take off...

[Answer] Yes. The take-off consists of the take-off run, building up speed and then the lift-off. And the pilot? There is always a feeling of relief in taking off and having the first step behind oneself. When the airplane turns, your body is pressed strongly against the seat and then the airplane goes onto course. Now, the flight director gives the pilot the speed and altitude he needs to reach. These are the three most important parameters and it is at this moment that his chief task is to maintain flight conditions. There should be no deviations from course.

[Question] It seems too simple. Are there not any difficulties?

[Answer] A new pilot can have moments that make flight difficult. For example, a young pilot can be intimidated by group flying which requires great self-control and skill. Any mistake can endanger the next pilot. High-altitude flying can also be very difficult. When there is even a light fog, a pilot can feel completely lost and alone. Night flying is especially difficult. There have been cases in which the pilot felt like the ground was under his feet but he was really flying upside-down, seeing stars and thinking they were positional lights on the ground.

[Question] What does one do then?

[Answer] Not believe his feelings but his instruments.

[Question] Does a pilot in flight rely on his own abilities?

[Answer] No. On the ground, his comrades in radar stations track his flight. They watch him and are with him. If he makes any deviation from the flight path, they tell him. If need be, they tell him what to do.

[Question] While we are talking about flying, let us enlarge the topic to include the pilot's family. What does the young wife of a young pilot think when he is flying?

[Answer] That is certainly an experience for her as well. My wife is with me in her thoughts. I never asked her but I know that when I am flying at night, she does not sleep.

[Question] Does the pilot's lifestyle affect the family climate?

[Answer] Actually, we avoid topics that have anything to do with aviation. We do not talk much about my work or about flights. We should, though. Both of us are interested in gliders, for example.

[Question] How did you meet?

[Answer] As an officer cadet while I was taking a practice course. Jadwiga comes from a military family.

[Question] And your shared interest in gliders?

[Answer] My wife has a silver glider-pilot's medal and is a licensed glider pilot. She has also made several parachute jumps but that was all done before I knew her. When we got married, she began her professional career and gave birth to Klaudiusz and a little later to Artur. My wife works to raise the children and take care of me.

[Question] And what sort of husband should a pilot be once he has a family?

[Answer] Col Zofia Andrychowska defined that perfectly: he should be like a compass -- solid, reliable and without any deviation.

[Question] We still have not talked about any interests that you may have outside of home. What are your hobbies?

[Answer] A pilot must relax when he is not working but I would prefer to not talk about that.

[Question] When I spoke once with a famous physicist, he said that he really likes to make spaghetti. Let us not be ashamed of our hobbies.

[Answer] Well, OK. I feel great being in the kitchen but most of all I like to bake cakes. When I was 13 years old, I made big birthday cakes with candles and all! Ever since then, I make a cake whenever anyone in our family has a birthday. I do this so much that I don't even put candles in my own birthday cake.

[Question] Your wife has told me that you have many other interests.

[Answer] I also write poetry, mainly poems about flying. I describe my impressions while in flight. Jadwiga likes these poems but no one else has ever read them.

[Question] Your wife has said that these poems contain several [illegible] and that they are worth publishing.

[Answer] I am not a poet. My poems are really just reflections and are very private in nature. I really am not a poet but a pilot.

[Question] How does one become a pilot?

[Answer] I am also from a military family. From the earliest years of childhood, I have known the taste of this profession. We moved several times and I changed my garrisons and schools. I watched my father and I knew this was a hard profession but also an interesting one. It was this curiosity about life and aviation that led me to believe that nothing could give me as much satisfaction as flying. When I finished school, I applied to the Deblin Officer's higher School of Aviation.

[Question] And that was how your career started?

[Answer] For almost two years, we only saw flying as if through a window. Most of what we did was theoretical training such as mathematics, physics, mechanical engineering, aerodynamics, thermodynamics and navigation and we studied aircraft engines and equipment. Later we began to learn to fly in a TS-11 Iskra trainer. We also practiced parachute jumps and for us that was "real" life.

[Question] Were there also some critical moments?

[Answer] Unfortunately, aviation is harder than any other profession. Every take-off is a calculated risk. Once I had to make an emergency landing. I landed in a field. To this day, I keep a piece of the broken propeller blade from this airplane as a memento.

[Question] You live in a small garrison. Are you satisfied?

[Answer] It is not important that it is a small garrison because the most important thing is the work and flying. Every flight is a unique experience. There are no two flights exactly the same. This is what makes them interesting and unique.

[Question] And the future?

[Answer] Of course, I will continue flying and only flying as much as possible and in all types of the newest aircraft that are and will be used in the Air force.

[Question] There comes a time in which we have so many questions and cannot find answers to them all. What does the pilot of a supersonic MiG think of this?

[Answer] People can find the answer to their expectations in themselves. A person has to set his own goals and make a decision and then work consistently and stubbornly to reach those goals. And success and happiness? Generally speaking, happiness favors courageous people of good character.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

**PRIEST DIES IN FIRE**--On 10 June an early morning fire broke out in the living quarters of the rectory of the church of Divine Providence at 1 Powstancow Wielkopolskich Street in Gdansk-Zaspa. One room was destroyed by the fire. The resident priest, Marian W., died as a result of the fire.

An inquiry into the cause of the fire and tragic death of Marian W. has been started and the local Office of Religious Affairs will conduct investigatory proceedings with the assistance of fire department officials, the Institute of Forensic Medicine of Academy of Medicine and other experts under the supervision of the regional prosecutor in Gdansk. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

**PARTY SOCIOLOGISTS MEET**--The nationwide seminar of party sociologists, organized by the Department of Science and Education of the PZPR's Central Committee, with the participation of a group of party sociologists, has taken place in Warsaw. Professor Hieronim Kubiak, a member of the Political Office of the PZPR Central Committee, was among those meeting with seminar participants. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

**UN OFFICIAL VISITS**--Leticia Shahani, assistant secretary general of the UN and director of the Vienna UN Center for Social Development and Human Affairs, was hosted during her visit to Poland by Minister of Justice Lech Domeracki. They discussed issues related to the 7th UN Congress on crime prevention and treatment of criminals, which will take place in Milan, as well as questions related to the execution by Poland of conventions on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

**SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS GATHER**--In Jelenia Gora the convention of the western union (diocese) of the Seventh Day Adventist Church has been concluded. Delegates of western churches discussed the church's program of activity. Elections of leaders of the western diocese were held. Pastor Stanislaw Niedzinski was chosen chairman for the 1985-88 term. Similar elections were also held in the church's eastern diocese. At the convention in Warsaw Pastor Marian Wojcik was elected chairman. Participating in the conventions were the secretary general of Northern European division, Pastor Pekka Pohjola of England, and leaders of the Adventist church in the Soviet Union, pastors Michail Kulakow and Nikolaj Zukaluk. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

**KINAST MEETS WITH CANADIAN OFFICIAL**--On 14 June Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast hosted Daniel Molgat, Canadian assistant vice minister of foreign affairs, who visited Poland for the 50th anniversary of the signing

of the Polish-Canadian trade agreements. Opinions were exchanged on a number of problems of the current international situation. Issues related to the development of Polish-Canadian relations were also discussed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

CONSULAR AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO--On June 14 a consular agreement between Poland and Mexico was signed in Warsaw. Jan Kinast, vice minister of foreign affairs, and Mexican ambassador Carlos Gonzalez Parrodi signed the agreement. The agreement is subject to ratification by the State Council. Achievement of the resolutions contained in the agreement will be conducive to the further comprehensive development of relations between Poland and Mexico and assure the protection of the rights and interests of Polish citizens in Mexico and Mexican citizens in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

GOMULKA'S 'COLLECTED WORKS'--On the 8th of this month, in the Central Committee of the PZPR, the opening session of the editorial committee for the compilation of "The Collected Works" of Wladyslaw Gomulka took place. The committee was set up by a Politburo resolution of 5 February 1985. The committee included: Henryk Bednarski (chairman), Jerzy Albrecht, Antoni Czubinski, Zenobiusz Kozik, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, Wladyslaw Loranc, Czeslaw Madajczyk, Lucjan Motyka, Walery Namiotkiewicz, Witold Nawrocki, Bronislaw Ratus, Witold Skrabalak, Kazimierz Sobczak, Bronislaw Syzdek, Jan Tomicki, and Tadeusz Walichnowski. The bibliographic information on W. Gomulka's works and information on the work which had been started on the first volume were discussed. The committee decided that it would be essential to use not only materials from relevant scientific institutes but information and materials in the possession of individuals as well. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 2]

REFINERY NAMED AFTER GOMULKA--On the 8th of this month, the oil refinery in Jedlicz in Krosno Province was decorated with the Order of the Banner of Labor, First Class conferred by the State Council for its economic achievements and for the social contributions of its work force. The enterprise is a supplier of over 100 chemical products, mostly oils and lubricants. That day the enterprise was named after Wladyslaw Gomulka, who began his first trade job there after obtaining the title of a locksmith apprentice in 1922. At that time he was the impetus for the creation of KPP [Communist Party of Poland] cells in Jedlicz. Politburo member and KC secretary Jozef Czyrek and Politburo member and KW PZPR secretary in Tarnow, Stanislaw Opalko, participated in the celebrations. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 2]

MEETING ON PAX IDENTITY--On the 7th and 8th of this month the board of the "Pax" association met in Warsaw. The session was led and summarized by the board chairman, Deputy Premier Zenon Komender. It was dedicated to the problems of Christian outlook and inspiration in the activity of "Pax" in the context of the triple involvement which defines the identify of the association, i.e., patriotic and socialist involvement as well. A resolution to convene a general meeting of the "Pax" association by the end of the year, was adopted at the session. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 2]

PARTY PHILOSOPHERS' CONFERENCE--From the third to the fifth of this month, a conference of party philosophers organized by the Department of Science and Education of the PZPR Central Committee, took place in Serock near Warsaw. The conference was dedicated to the "tasks of Marxist philosophers in the defense of rationalism and the principles of tolerance." The tasks of the party milieu of philosophers in the realization of the Politburo directives regarding the "basic directions of the development of social sciences" were also discussed, using the report of the team's chairman Prof Jerzy Ladyka, as the basis for the discussion. Deputy minister Prof Czeslaw Krolikowski presented the current problems of higher education, and the prorector of the Academy of Social Sciences [ANS], Prof Ryszard Chelinski, discussed the program of the ANS actions with regard to the education and improvement of the social sciences cadre. The Central Committee secretary, Prof Henryk Bednarski, met with the participants of the conference. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jun 85 p 4]

EASTERN RITE HEAD VISITS--The director of the Office of Religious Affairs, minister Adam Lopatka, met with the honorary chairman of the Main Council of the Eastern Rite Church, professor Leonid Pimonow. He is a renowned scholar permanently living in France who works closely with the Polish Academy of Science. He was also a well known representative of leading circles of the Eastern Rite Church during the interwar period. Currently the number of followers of that religion in Poland is about 1000 people, concentrated mainly in several communities in the Suwalki province. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS VISIT--A group of White House fellows from the US has been in Poland in connection with a study program. In connection with this year's program, devoted mainly to problems of East-West relations, the group toured Poland, after arriving from a stay in the USSR. From Warsaw the group went to Hungary and France. Participants in the program are undergoing training in major federal offices, including the White House and State Department. During their stay in Warsaw the White House fellows met with representatives of a number of central departments. They also met with Vice Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. The fellows toured the former Nazi concentration camp in Oswiecim. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

NEW PROSECUTOR APPOINTMENTS--Prosecutor General Jozef Zyta has made appointments to the positions of regional prosecutor and assistant prosecutor. In congratulating the newly named prosecutors and wishing them success in performing a difficult, responsible and commendable service, he stressed the significance of the prosecutor's office in the struggle against crime and other violations of the law. [Text] Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW CONFERENCE--The 27th conference of departments and institutions of constitutional law, this time devoted to verifying the conformity of law to the constitution, has been concluded in Pulawy. The conference's deliberations on public demand concurred on issuing a rule on the Constitutional Tribunal. About 80 specialists from the entire country participated in the session, organized by the Institute of National Law of Maria Curie-Sklodowska University. [Text] Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

SOVIET CULTURAL COOPERATION VISIT--From 3 June to 6 June the director of the department of cultural cooperation of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, ambassador J. Kirycczenko, made a working visit in consultation with the Department of the Press and Cultural and Scientific Cooperation of Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the plan for cultural and scientific cooperation between Poland and the USSR in 1986-1990. Ambassador Kirycczenko met with W. Nawrocki, head of the Department of Culture of the PZPR's Central Committee, K. Zygulski, minister of culture and the arts and J. Kinast, vice minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

OPZZ PUBLICITY FOR AUSTRIANS--From 2 June to 7 June, at the invitation of government press spokesman Jerzy Urban, a study group of Austrian journalists visited Poland to become acquainted with trade union activity. They were accompanied by a representative of the Federal Press Service. During their stay in Krakow, Katowice, Czestochowa and Warsaw, meetings were held with government representatives and the leadership of the OPZZ, as well as union members and members of employer management. There was also a meeting with vice minister of foreign affairs Ernest Kucza and the Plan Commission of the Council of Ministers. Vice Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski welcomed the Austrian journalists. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8-9 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

DEBRIEFING FOR COLLEGE PZPR REPS--Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, hosted a group of first secretaries of academic committees of the PZPR who recently visited the USSR at the invitation of the Department of Science and Education of the KPZR's Central Committee. The members of the delegation presented information on the course of meetings and discussions conducted in schools in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Minsk and on practical proposals resulting from their stay. Wasilij Swirin, advisor and minister plenipotentiary of the Soviet embassy, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8-9 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

SIWAK SEES FOREIGN UNIONISTS--A joint session of the Building Commission and the Youth Committee of the International Associates of Building Trades Unions, Lumber and Building Materials Industry, UITBB, was held in Warsaw. The conference was devoted to problems of employment and career preparation for young workers. Albin Siwak, a member of the Political Office of the PZPR Central Committee, and Stanislaw Kukuryka, minister of architecture and the building materials industry, participated in the session. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8-9 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

RC-ORTHODOX CHURCH DIALOGUE--A conference of the coordinating committee of the international joint commission for theological dialogue between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches has concluded in Opole. The committee prepared a working document for the plenary session of the international joint committee, which will take place from 29 May to 7 June 1986 in Bari, Italy. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8-9 Jun 85 p 2] 12776

WKO ATTENDS 'SPOLEM' MEETING--The Provincial Defense Committee (WKO) held a field session meeting yesterday at the provincial headquarters of 'Spolem.' The meeting was presided over by Tadeusz Salwa, mayor of Krakow. The Committee acquainted itself with the state of preparedness and progress being made in the fulfillment of defense-related tasks by 'Spolem,' the Provincial Farmers' Union, agricultural circles, as well as the Provincial Board of the National Defense League. In the chairman's summary, the WKO determined that the realization of defense-related tasks is incumbent both on 'Spolem' management and its unions, as well as on social organizations and trade unions. The Committee adopted measures designed to improve defense activities in these units. [Text] [Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 29 May 85 p 6]

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